

# VU Research Portal

## Batavi in the Roman Army of the Principate

Derks, Ton; Teitler, Hans

### ***published in***

Bonner Jahrbücher  
2019

### ***document version***

Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

[Link to publication in VU Research Portal](#)

### ***citation for published version (APA)***

Derks, T., & Teitler, H. (2019). Batavi in the Roman Army of the Principate: An Inventory of the Sources. *Bonner Jahrbücher*, 53-80.

### **General rights**

Copyright and moral rights for the publications made accessible in the public portal are retained by the authors and/or other copyright owners and it is a condition of accessing publications that users recognise and abide by the legal requirements associated with these rights.

- Users may download and print one copy of any publication from the public portal for the purpose of private study or research.
- You may not further distribute the material or use it for any profit-making activity or commercial gain
- You may freely distribute the URL identifying the publication in the public portal ?

### **Take down policy**

If you believe that this document breaches copyright please contact us providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.

### **E-mail address:**

[vuresearchportal.ub@vu.nl](mailto:vuresearchportal.ub@vu.nl)

Sonderdruck aus

# BONNER JAHRBÜCHER

des

LVR-Landesmuseums Bonn

und des

LVR-Amtes für Bodendenkmalpflege im Rheinland

sowie des

Vereins von Altertumsfreunden im Rheinlande

**BAND 218**

**2018**

Diese PDF-Datei ist nur zum persönlichen Versand durch den Autor bestimmt. Sie darf bis Januar 2021 nicht in das Internet, zum Beispiel auf die Homepage des Verfassers, gestellt werden.

This PDF is good for private dissemination by the author only. Its publication on the world wide web, for example on the writer's homepage, is restricted until January 2021.

Ce fichier pdf est destiné seulement à la distribution personnelle de l'auteur. Jusqu'au janvier 2021 il ne doit pas être mis en ligne sur l'internet, par exemple sur la page d'accueil du nomographe.

Questo file pdf è destinato esclusivamente all'uso personale dell'autore. Non né è permessa la pubblicazione in Internet, per esempio sulla pagina Internet dell'autore, prima del Gennaio 2021.



Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft  
Philipp von Zabern  
Darmstadt

Gedruckt mit Mitteln des Ministeriums für Heimat, Kommunales, Bau und Gleichstellung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, des Landschaftsverbandes Rheinland (LVR) und des Vereins von Altertumsfreunden im Rheinlande.

VIII und 514 Seiten mit 205 Abbildungen, davon 129 farbig, sowie eine farbige Doppeltafel.

Die Regeln für die Gestaltung der Beiträge finden sich auch [www.av-rheinland.de](http://www.av-rheinland.de). Zu beachten sind insbesondere die dort eingestellten Grundsätze nach den »Berichten der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission« Band 71, 1990, und zwar im Sinne der geisteswissenschaftlichen Zitierweise mit Titelschlagwort. Ferner finden Anwendung die ebenfalls dort eingebundenen Abkürzungen für Periodika nach derselben Zeitschrift Band 73, 1992, sowie die desgleichen erschlossenen Kürzel der antiken Quellen nach »Der Neue Pauly«. Weitere Abkürzungen am Schluss dieses Bandes.

Aufsätze für die Bonner Jahrbücher werden in einem Peer-Review-Verfahren begutachtet.

Die Bonner Jahrbücher im Internet: [journals.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/index.php/bjb](http://journals.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/index.php/bjb).

Redaktion: Olaf Dräger, LVR-Landesmuseum Bonn.

Ministerium für Heimat, Kommunales,  
Bau und Gleichstellung  
des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen



ISSN 0938-9334  
ISBN 978-3-8053-5251-2

Copyright 2019 LVR-Landesmuseum Bonn, LVR-Amt für Bodendenkmalpflege im Rheinland und Verein von Altertumsfreunden im Rheinlande sowie Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Wortmarke Philipp von Zabern.

Satz: Martin Pütz, LVR-Landesmuseum Bonn.

Druck: Beltz Bad Langensalza GmbH.

Alle Rechte vorbehalten.

Gedruckt auf alterungsbeständigem Papier mit neutralem pH-Wert.

Printed in Germany.

*Ton Derks and Hans Teitler*

## Batavi in the Roman Army of the Principate

### An Inventory of the Sources

The purpose of this paper is to present a new comprehensive overview of the sources that are presently available for a history of Batavi in the Roman army. Previous scholarship often dealt only with certain specific units in which Batavians served (the imperial bodyguard, for example, or the cavalry regiments), or exclusively treated either the historical or the epigraphic sources.

Andrew Fear's recent article on the Batavi in the Roman army during the Principate in Yann Le Bohec's *Encyclopedia of the Roman Army* is too short to cover all the issues treated here<sup>1</sup>. It is predicated on a choice of the epigraphical evidence<sup>2</sup>, and its review of the units in which Batavi served is only based on selected documents. Other more embracing studies are outdated. In this respect, new discoveries of inscriptions on stone as well as of military diplomas should be mentioned, which make it »worthwhile to revisit and to retest hypotheses to see if modifications are needed to earlier conclusions«<sup>3</sup>. Therefore a more lengthy treatment of the available sources seems justified, pace what Spaul wrote in 2000: »More than enough has been written about the Batavians«<sup>4</sup>.

This paper focuses on the Batavian auxilia as well as on individual Batavian soldiers, who served either in regiments which were named after their tribe or in other units of the Roman army, including the imperial bodyguard. The personal biographies of these individual Batavian soldiers, fragments of which we encounter in inscriptions, were strongly linked up with the history of the units they served in and the strategies of the

In this article we do not deal with all the units of the Roman army in which we find Batavi. An inventory of what is known about Batavi in the cohortes and in the *numerus exploratorum Batavorum* has to wait for another occasion. We owe thanks to Rudolf Haensch and to Raphael Brendel for their valuable advice, and to Ines van de Wetering for her correction of our English.

<sup>1</sup> A. Fear, Batavi. In: Y. Le Bohec (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Roman Army* (Oxford 2015) 84.

<sup>2</sup> For the value of inscriptions in general, and of military diplomas in particular for reconstructing the history of the Roman army, see most recently M. A. Speidel, *The Roman Army*. In: Chr. Bruun / J. Edmondson (eds.), *The Oxford*

*Handbook of Roman Epigraphy* (Oxford 2015) 319–344.

<sup>3</sup> P. A. Holder, *Revue internat. d'Hist. Militaire Ancienne* 6, 2017, 13.

<sup>4</sup> J. E. H. Spaul, *Cohors<sup>2</sup>. The Evidence for and a Short History of the Auxiliary Infantry Units of the Imperial Roman Army* (Oxford 2000) 211. A list of Batavians mentioned in inscriptions, soldiers as well as civilians, can be found in Derks, *Ethnic Identity*, which may be updated with the following omissions and new discoveries, see F. Wagner, *Ber. RGK* 37/38, 1956/1957, 234 no. 72; *Année Épigr.* 2012 no. 1128; 2012 no. 1945; *Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr.* 199, 2016, 234–236. For recently published military diplomas see below.

Roman army at large. The life histories of individual soldiers should therefore be written against the backdrop of the regimental histories of the units they were posted to.

It should be stressed that not all soldiers serving in the ›Batavian‹ auxilia were ethnic Batavians. When the Batavian auxiliary forces were founded in the first century, they no doubt consisted of ethnic Batavians, who, as part of the peace treaty with the Romans, were drawn into the Roman army. In the course of time, however, vacancies in the ranks of these units were filled with new recruits from elsewhere, especially the areas in which they were stationed. The regimental names of the units, referring to the recruiting grounds at the time of their first conscription, thus gradually lost their ethnic connotation<sup>5</sup>. The principle is exemplified by the case of the horseman Dasa(s) who had served in the ala Batavorum. Originally located in Germania Inferior, the ala was transferred from this province to Pannonia, and from there to Dacia. As both Dasa's own name and that of his father Scenobarbus point to a birthplace in Dalmatia or Pannonia<sup>6</sup>, we may conclude that he joined the ala when it was stationed in Pannonia. Since his gravestone, now lost, was found at the Roman fort of Apulum (Alba Iulia) in Dacia, we may infer that he subsequently moved with his unit to that province where he died during service.

It is widely accepted that this change in the ethnic composition of auxilia became effective at the end of the first century<sup>7</sup>, but Werner Eck has convincingly argued that the process may have started immediately after conscription<sup>8</sup>. The main reason for it was the fact, that most units were quickly transferred from their recruiting areas to other provinces where local recruiting became the standard practice<sup>9</sup>, except in emergency situations when fresh recruits could be brought in from afar<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Eck, *Auxiliareinheiten* 114: »Die ethnischen Beinamen blieben den Einheiten, auch wenn die Mannschaften im Laufe der Zeit multiethnisch gemischt waren«. See for this change in the case of the Batavi in the first place J. A. van Rossum in: L. de Ligt / E. A. Hemelrijk / H. W. Singor (eds.), *Roman Rule and Civic Life: Local and Regional Perspectives* (Amsterdam 2004) 113–131; Derks, *Ethnic Identity*; cf. further A. Kakoschke, ›Germanen‹ in der Fremde. Eine Untersuchung zur Mobilität aus den römischen Provinzen Germania inferior und Germania superior anhand der Inschriften des 1. bis 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. (Möhnesee 2004) 226; M. D. de Weerd, *Westerheem* 55, 2006, 5–26.

<sup>6</sup> CIL III 7800 = IDR III 5,522; see below, note 112 and note 113.

<sup>7</sup> Eck, *Auxiliareinheiten* 115: »Zumeist geht man davon aus, dass das Prinzip der ethnisch uniformen Einheiten erst gegen Ende des 1. Jh. weithin durchbrochen worden sei«.

<sup>8</sup> W. Eck, *Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr.* 143, 2003, 220–228; Eck, *Auxiliareinheiten* 114 f.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. e. g. J. B. Campbell, *The Emperor and the Roman Army, 31 BC–AD 235* (Oxford 1984) 12: »By the second century the auxilia, just like

the legions, were in the main recruited in the provinces where they were stationed, or those adjacent«.

<sup>10</sup> W. Eck in: A. Eich (ed.), *Die Verwaltung der kaiserzeitlichen römischen Armee. Studien für Hartmut Wolff* (Stuttgart 2010) 87–110, has shown, on the basis of military diplomas, »dass weit häufiger innerhalb einer Provinz Zwangsaushebungen anstelle von Freiwilligenrekrutierung durchgeführt wurden, um die Truppen anderer Provinzen mit den nötigen Rekruten zu versorgen, als dies üblicherweise angenommen wurde« (110). Cf. for the practice of recruitment of auxiliary forces e. g. Derks/Roymans, *Auxiliary Veterans*; M. A. Speidel, *Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr.* 163, 2007, 281–295, reprinted in id., *Heer und Herrschaft im Römischen Reich der hohen Kaiserzeit* (Stuttgart 2009) 213–234; Eck/Pangerl, *Diplomata militaria*; Roselaar, *State-Organised Mobility*; Eck, *Auxiliareinheiten* 113–121; D. Dana in: C. Wolff / P. Faure (eds.), *Les auxiliaires de l'armée romaine. Des alliés aux fédérés* (Paris and Lyon 2016) 155–169, and the special issue on recruitment of the *Rev. Internat. d'Hist. Militaire Ancienne* 6, 2017, with among others P. Cosme, 83–93.

## Irregular units and regular auxiliary forces

The first Batavian mentioned by name in a literary source, Chariovalda<sup>11</sup>, was commander (dux) of an irregular body of fellow Batavians, who operated as allies of Germanicus in A. D. 16. At that time, the tribe of the Germanic speaking Batavians lived in what nowadays is the Netherlands. Originally, according to Tacitus, they were part of the Chatti and had their home on the other side of the Rhine in present day Germany near the upper Weser and the Diemel, but due to internal struggles they were driven out of their abodes, and subsequently settled within the borders of the Roman empire, on an island in the Rhine and a small district on the left bank of that river<sup>12</sup>. It was this insula Batavorum that Germanicus had chosen as his operational base for the campaign in which he used Batavians under Chariovalda as allies<sup>13</sup>.

<sup>11</sup> Unlike Iulius Civilis, Iulius Briganticus and Claudius Labeo, each of whom is called »praefectus« by Tacitus (Hist. 2, 22, 3; 4, 18, 4; 4, 32, 3), Chariovalda is named »dux« (Tac. Ann. 2, 11, 1 »Chariovalda dux Batavorum erupit«). It seems better, therefore, to regard him with e. g. Alföldy, *Hilfstruppen* 46, Holder, *Auxilia* 110 and Haynes, *Roman Auxilia* 115 note 80 as the commander of an irregular body of Batavians rather than as the prefect of a regular auxiliary ala, as e. g. PME I 43 (»praefectus equitum [alae Batavorum?])«) and Derks, *Ethnic Identity* 277 no. A 1 maintain. See for Chariovalda's name N. Wagner, *Sprachwissenschaft* 8, 1983, 429–436; H. Reichert, *Zeitschr. Dt. Altwiss. u. Dt. Lit.* 132, 2003, 85–100. For Germanicus' campaign see e. g. W. Brepohl, *Arminius gegen Germanicus. Der Germanicus-Feldzug im Jahre 16 n. Chr. und seine Hintergründe* (second edition, Münster 2012). While Chariovalda was important enough to be mentioned in a literary source, »the name of the earliest known Batavian soldier« (Willems/Enckevort, *Nijmegen* 109) came to light, so it used to be claimed, by the graffito »Batavi« on a terra sigillata plate found in the Tiberian harbour castellum Velsen I (Année Épigr. 1997 no. 1165a; Derks, *Ethnic Identity* 282 no. E 12). However, M. Zandstra, *Arch. Korrbbl.* 45, 2015, 229–236 has convincingly shown that the graffito does not read »BATAVI«, but should be reconstructed as »BATONIS«, and that it cannot be considered as referring to a Batavian soldier stationed at Velsen. Cf. Derks, *Ethnic Identity* 282 E 5 (= J. K. Haalebos, *Zwammerdam Nigrum Pullum. Ein Auxiliarkastell am niedergermanischen Limes* [Amsterdam 1977] 190; 193 f. no. 10), E 13, and E 14 (= ibid. 190 no. 19) for graffiti of soldiers with the cognomen »Batav(us)«, »[B]atavus«, »[Ba?]ta(v)us« found in Nigrum Pullum (Zwammerdam), Vechten and Valkenburg, respectively.

<sup>12</sup> Tac. Germ. 29, 1; Hist. 4, 12, 2. The etymology of the name »Batavi« is disputed. See most

recently A. Sitzmann / F. E. Grünzweig, *Die altgermanischen Ethnonyme. Ein Handbuch zu ihrer Etymologie* (Vienna 2008) 55–59; N. Wagner, *Hist. Sprachforsch.* 128, 2015, 289–298, esp. 291–293.

<sup>13</sup> Tac. Ann. 2, 6, 3. The designation »insula Batavorum« is already found in Caes. Gall. 4, 10, 1–2, but there it is perhaps an interpolation; see for discussion H. Gesche, *Caesar* (Darmstadt 1976) 83–86, 259 f. Cf. further Cass. Dio 54, 32, 2 (τῆν τῶν Βατάουων νῆσον); 55, 24, 7. We also find the geographical name Batavia (from which the modern Dutch name of the region »Betuwe« is derived): Cass. Dio 55, 24, 7; Paneg. 2 [12], 5, 2; 4 [8], 3, 3; 5 [9], 21, 2; 7 [6], 5, 3; 12 [9], 25, 2; Zos. 3, 6, 2 (Βαταβία), or Patavio/Patavia: Iul. Hon. Cosmog. 22–23; Tab. Peut. 1, 1–4. For archaeological research concerning the home of the Batavians in the Netherlands see e. g. W. J. H. Willems, *Ber. ROB* 31, 1981, 7–217; id., *Ber. ROB* 34, 1984, 39–331; L. Swinkels in: id. (ed.), *De Bataven. Verhalen van een verdwenen volk* (Amsterdam 2004) 272–297. Cf. also L. Bessone, *Sileno* 2, 1976, 220–230. The way in which the Batavians arrived (whether as an entire tribe or in a small group) into the Netherlands, and their ethnogenesis, has been variously assessed. See for a convenient summary of the discussion Willems/Enckevort, *Nijmegen* 111 f. (opposing the views of N. Roymans, *Romeinse frontierpolitiek en de etnogenese van de Bataven* [Inaugural lecture Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam 1998; reprinted in *Bijdragen en Mededel. Gelre* 90, 1999, 15–39]; C. van Driel-Murray in: T. Grünwald / S. Seibel [eds.], *Kontinuität und Diskontinuität. Germania inferior am Beginn und am Ende der römischen Herrschaft* [Berlin 2003] 200–217). Cf. also N. Roymans, *Ethnic Identity and Imperial Power. The Batavians in the Early Roman Empire* (Amsterdam 2004); C. van Driel-Murray in: Z. Visy (ed.), *Limes XIX. Proceedings of the 19th International*

By the middle of the first century A. D. the Batavian units were transformed into regular auxiliary forces<sup>14</sup>. They were then, as well as later, known to be good swimmers and excellent horsemen<sup>15</sup>. Batavi served in *alae*, cavalry units, and in *cohortes*, which mainly consisted of foot soldiers, but also had cavalry (and then were called *cohortes equitatae*), as is evidenced by inter alios Tacitus and many inscriptions<sup>16</sup>. They served under praefecti such as Claudius Labeo<sup>17</sup> and the famous Iulius Civilis<sup>18</sup>. In conformity with an ancient custom, which allowed the Batavian units to be commanded by their own chieftains<sup>19</sup>, these praefecti were Batavian noblemen (Civilis was even of royal descent)<sup>20</sup>, who, as their names indicate, had been granted Roman citizenship and had been received among the ranks of the *equites Romani*<sup>21</sup>. Prefect of another regiment, the *ala singularium* (for which see below on Batavi serving in *alae* other than the *ala*

Congress of Roman Frontier Studies held in Pécs (Pécs 2005) 435–439; I. Grigoraş in: A. Rubel (ed.), *Imperium und Romanisierung. Neue Forschungsansätze aus Ost und West zu Ausübung, Transformation und Akzeptanz von Herrschaft im Römischen Reich* (Konstanz 2013) 85–102.

<sup>14</sup> The exact dating of this transformation process is disputed. See below note 21.

<sup>15</sup> Tac. Agr. 18, 4; Ann. 2, 8, 3; 2, 11, 1–3; Hist. 2, 43, 2; 4, 12, 3, cf. 5, 21, 2; Plut. Otho 12, 4–5; Cass. Dio 55, 24, 7; 69, 9, 6; CIL III 3676 = ILS 2558; cf. Cass. Dio 60, 20, 2. For swimming see G. Horsmann, *Untersuchungen zur militärischen Ausbildung im republikanischen und kaiserzeitlichen Rom* (Boppard am Rhein 1991) 129–132.

<sup>16</sup> Tac. Hist. 4, 19, 1 »Isdem diebus Batavorum et Canninefatium cohortes [...] missus a Civile nuntius adsequitur. intumuere statim [...] et [...] augeri equitum numerum [...] postulabant«. For the term »cohors equitata« see e. g. Hyg. mun. castr. 25–27; CIL III 10330; Année Épigr. 2003 no. 1440; 1441. Cf. for such cohorts R. W. Davies, *Historia* (Stuttgart) 20, 1971, 751–763 [reprinted in id., *Service in the Roman Army* (Edinburgh 1989) 141–151, 271–274]; A. Becker in: *Lege artis. Festschrift für Hans-Markus von Kaenel* (Bonn 2014) 1–8 and note 32 below.

<sup>17</sup> Tac. Hist. 4, 18, 4 »praefectus *alae* Batavorum«. Cf. PME C 150; PG 104 E 84. For Tacitus' representation of Labeo see C. Trzaska-Richter, *Furor teutonicus. Das römische Germanenbild in Politik und Propaganda von den Anfängen bis zum 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr.* (Trier 1991) 211 f.

<sup>18</sup> Tac. Hist. 4, 32, 3 »praefectus unius cohortis«, cf. 4, 16, 1. See PME I 45, PG 107 E 87 and Trzaska-Richter, *Furor* (previous note) 203–211. Civilis had a brother: »Iulius Civilis et Claudius Paulus regia stirpe multo ceteros anteibant« (Tac. Hist. 4, 13, 1). Tacitus does not mention

it, but it has been plausibly suggested by e. g. D. Timpe, *Arminius-Studien* (Heidelberg 1970) 39 and G. Alföldy, *Corsi di Cultura sull'Arte Ravennate e Bizantina* 24, 1977, 7–19, esp. 15 that Paulus too had served as the prefect of a Batavian unit.

<sup>19</sup> Tac. Hist. 4, 12, 3.

<sup>20</sup> Tac. Hist. 4, 13, 1 (just cited, note 18).

<sup>21</sup> Whether or not the Batavian units of pre-Flavian date should be considered as proper auxiliary regiments is disputed. Cf. Alföldy, *Hilfstruppen* 46: »Wir sind der Ansicht, daß die cohortes Batavorum als reguläre Infanterietruppen bereits spätestens am Anfang der claudischen Zeit aufgestellt wurden«, K. Kraft, *Zur Rekrutierung der Alen und Kohorten an Rhein und Donau* (Bern 1951) 40: »Desgleichen wäre es falsch, in Gallien und am Rhein erst nach dem Aufstand des Civilis an eine Änderung der Auxiliengestellung zu denken«, and Cosme, *Préfets bataves* 114, according to whom the Batavian units operated as regular auxiliary regiments already under Tiberius or Caligula. On the other hand, Holder, *Auxilia* 110 (who is followed by e. g. D. J. Knight, *Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr.* 85, 1991, 189–208, esp. 195 note 12) argues that »they cannot be considered as fully integrated into the auxilia because they served under their own nobles whilst regular units are commanded by equestrians«; cf. also the sceptical remarks by R. Wolters, *Römische Eroberung und Herrschaftsorganisation in Gallien und Germanien. Zur Entstehung und Bedeutung der sogenannten Klientel-Randstaaten* (Bochum 1990) 247–249. Against Holder one could point to S. Demougins, *Prosopographie des chevaliers romains julio-claudiens* (43 av. J.-C. – 70 ap. J.-C.) (Paris 1992) 578 f.: »Pour ces praefecti, la carrière habituelle, avec des promotions dans diverses unités, restait fermée. Assimilés à des chevaliers romains, les princes locaux devenus officiers ne jouissaient pas de leurs privilèges effectifs«.



Batavorum), was Iulius Briganticus<sup>22</sup>; Civilis was an uncle of Briganticus and disliked by his nephew as much as he disliked him<sup>23</sup>.

### The Batavian revolt and its aftermath

Batavian auxiliary troops played a prominent part in the Year of the Four Emperors. No fewer than eight Batavian cohorts were stationed in Britain probably from its annexation by Claudius in A. D. 43 onwards<sup>24</sup>, but certainly in the time of Nero; in the Year of the Four Emperors we find them back on the Continent<sup>25</sup>. In the civil war which broke out after Nero's death they showed a remarkable lack of discipline<sup>26</sup>, and finally revolted openly under the leadership of the prefect of another (a ninth)<sup>27</sup> Batavian cohort<sup>28</sup>, the Batavian prince Iulius Civilis – the revolt under Civilis (which some scholars prefer to regard as no more than an, admittedly important, episode in the civil war rather than as an indigenous revolt against the Roman empire) is described at length in the fourth and fifth books of Tacitus' *Historiae*<sup>29</sup>.

<sup>22</sup> Tac. Hist. 2, 22, 3 »Iulius Briganticus [...] praefectus alae in Batavis genitus«; 4, 70, 2 »accessit ala singularium [...] praeerat Iulius Briganticus«. Cf. PME I 35; PG 105 E 85.

<sup>23</sup> Tac. Hist. 4, 70, 2 »Iulius Briganticus sorore Civilis genitus [...] invisus avonculo infensusque«. Another relative of Civilis, Claudius Victor, was sent by his uncle to confront Vocula: »Civilis parte copiarum retenta veteranas cohortes et quod e Germanis maxime promptum adversus Voculam exercitumque eius mittit, Iulio Maximo et Claudio Victore, sororis suae filio, ducibus« (Tac. Hist. 4, 33, 1). It is likely, but not certain, that before the start of the Batavian revolt this Victor had been a soldier or an officer in the Roman army just like his uncle Civilis and his cousin Briganticus. As to Tacitus, the words »sororis suae filio« refer of course only to Victor, pace Cosme, *Préfets bataves* 118: »Tacite évoque d'ailleurs deux neveux de Civilis, Iulius Maximus et Claudius Victor«. In Hist. 5, 20, 1 Tacitus mentions another nephew of Civilis who fought at the side of his uncle, Verax, »sorore eius genitus«. As in the case of Victor, one can only speculate about Verax's function, if any, in the Roman army of the pre-Flavian period.

<sup>24</sup> M. W. C. Hassall, *Britannia* 1, 1970, 131–136, esp. 131: »This is an inference derived from the known methods of fighting employed by the Batavians, and the descriptions of auxiliaries in action in Britain given by Tacitus and Dio«. P. A. Holder, *The Roman Army in Britain* (London 1982) 15: »The presence [sc. in A. D. 43] of the eight Batavian cohorts which were later in the forefront of the revolt of Julius Civilis in AD 69 is reasonably certain«.

<sup>25</sup> Tac. Ann. 14, 38, 1; Hist. 1, 59, 1; 2, 27, 2; 4, 12, 3; 4, 15, 1. Cf. Alföldy *Hilfstruppen* 45 f.

<sup>26</sup> Tac. Hist. 1, 59, 1; 1, 64, 2; 2, 27, 2.

<sup>27</sup> So e. g. Strobel, *Bataverkohorten* 283. Cf., however, Cosme, *Préfets bataves* 120 f., who argues that Civilis was commander of one of the eight cohorts already mentioned. Bellen, *Leibwache* 98 suggested that Galba, when he disbanded the Germani corporis custodes, »die Germanen als Auxiliarkohorte dem Civilis als Präfekten unterstellte und ihre Stationierung im Bataverland anordnete«.

<sup>28</sup> Tac. Hist. 4, 16, 1; 4, 32, 3.

<sup>29</sup> See for some modern studies G. Walser, *Rom, das Reich und die fremden Völker in der Geschichtsschreibung der frühen Kaiserzeit. Studien zur Glaubwürdigkeit des Tacitus* (Baden-Baden 1951); P. A. Brunt, *Latomus* 19, 1960, 494–517, reprinted in id., *Roman Imperial Themes* (Oxford 1990) 33–52; 481–487; E. Merkel, *Der Bataveraufstand bei Tacitus* (Diss. Heidelberg 1966); L. Bessone, *La rivolta batavica e la crisi del 69 d. C.* (Turin 1972); P. G. van Soesbergen, *Helinium* 11, 1974, 238–256; R. Urban, *Der »Bataveraufstand« und die Erhebung des Iulius Classicus* (Trier 1985); E. Flaig, *Den Kaiser herausfordern. Die Usurpation im Römischen Reich* (Frankfurt a. M. 1992) 525–547 (with R. Urban, *Bonner Jahrb.* 195, 1995, 699 f.); O. Schmitt, *Bonner Jahrb.* 193, 1993, 141–160; E. Flaig in: M. Weinmann-Walser (ed.), *Historische Interpretationen, Gerold Walser zum 75. Geburtstag dargebracht von Freunden, Kollegen, Schülern* (Stuttgart 1995) 45–60; D. Timpe in: T. Schmitt / W. Schmitz / A. Winterling (eds.), *Gegenwärtige Antike – antike Gegenwart* (Munich 2005) 151–187; L. Schwinden, *Ant. Welt* 47, 2016, H. 4, 30–34; J. Master, *Provincial Soldiers and Imperial Instability in the »Histories« of Tacitus* (Ann Arbor 2016) 30–73; 139–193. Of special interest are P. Cosme in: O. Hekster / T. Kaizer (eds.), *Frontiers in the*



The revolt was crushed in A. D. 70. Unfortunately, the text of the codex Laurentianus 68.2 (or Mediceus II), the only copy of Tacitus' *Historiae* which survived the Middle Ages, breaks off in chapter 26 of the fifth Book, so that we do not know what the precise outcome was of the peace talks between Civilis and the Roman general Petilius Cerialis. However, it is clear that the end of the revolt did not mean the end of the service of Batavians in the Roman army. After Civilis' revolt had been suppressed, Batavian cohorts were employed again in Britain. Four of them fought against the Caledonians at Mons Graupius<sup>30</sup> in A. D. 84. Whether or not these units were the direct successors of the eight or nine pre-Flavian cohorts is disputed<sup>31</sup>.

Equally unknown is the numerical strength of these four cohorts. Were they cohortes quingenariae (nominally five hundred men) or, less likely, cohortes milliariae (one thousand men)<sup>32</sup>? We know of one quingenary cohort, which was stationed in Britain at a later time, a cohort I Batavorum, but, since its earliest attestation dates from the year 122, this unit was probably a creation of the second century<sup>33</sup>. The other (post-)Flavian cohortes Batavorum, the First, Second, Third and Ninth, eventually all reached milliary strength. From the end of the first century onwards they left Britain and became active in Raetia, Noricum, Pannonia and Dacia. En route to their new destinations some of these cohorts may have stayed in Germania Inferior<sup>34</sup> for a while, as did the ala Batavorum, which served in Pannonia and Dacia in the second century, but operated in Germania at the end of the first.

Roman World (Leiden 2011) 305–320, who not only takes into account the Batavians, who during the revolt served in the auxiliary units, but also those who, as former members of the imperial guard, had returned to their homeland, and B. Turner in: T. Howe / L. L. Brice (eds.), *Brill's Companion to Insurgency and Terrorism in the Ancient Mediterranean* (Leiden 2016) 282–311, who rejects the term 'revolt', and argues that a »network-centric insurgency model provides a means for reassessment of ancient conflicts that have been so easily described as revolts or insurgencies« (p. 286).

<sup>30</sup> Tac. Agr. 36, 1. For the date see K. Strobel, *Historia* (Stuttgart) 36, 1987, 198–212.

<sup>31</sup> According to Willems/Enkevort, *Nijmegen* 23 it is »more likely that the Batavian auxiliary troops that played an important rôle during the revolt were dissolved and replaced by new units made up of young recruits«. Cf. M. G. Jarrett, *Britannia* 25, 1994, 35–77, esp. 54: »The cohorts taken from Britain [...] joined the revolt of Civilis in 69, and were presumably disbanded«. See, however, Alföldy, *Hilfstruppen* 47: »Nach allgemeiner Ansicht hat Vespasian die Bataverkohorten nach

der Niederwerfung des Aufstandes aufgelöst, und die später bekannten Bataverkohorten sollen mit den vorflavischen Kohorten nichts zu tun haben. Jedoch ist es viel wahrscheinlicher, daß diese neuen Truppen aus den früheren neun cohortes Batavorum gebildet wurden«. In this sense already M. Bang, *Die Germanen im römischen Dienst bis zum Regierungsantritt Constantins I.* (Berlin 1906) 36.

<sup>32</sup> See for the difference in size of cohortes equitatae milliariae and cohortes equitatae quingenariae Hyg. mun. castr. 25–26 and cf. Birley, *Alae* and G. Cupcea / F. Marcu, *Dacia* 50, 2006, 175–194, esp. 183–186. See further M. W. C. Hassall in: A. K. Bowman / P. D. Garnsey / D. Rathbone (eds.), *The Cambridge Ancient History XI. The High Empire, A. D. 70–192* (second edition, Cambridge 2000) 332–338 and Haynes, *Roman Auxilia* 53.

<sup>33</sup> CIL XVI 69.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. T. Derks in: L. Swinkels (ed.), *De Bataven. Verhalen van een verdwenen volk* (Amsterdam 2004) 40–69, 317–319, esp. 318 note 24; we return to this in our article about Batavi in the cohortes.

## Rowers and imperial bodyguards

We find Batavi also serving as rowers on the Rhine fleet<sup>35</sup>, and as imperial bodyguards<sup>36</sup>, or rather, imperial horse guards<sup>37</sup>. Under the Julio-Claudian emperors, the latter were called *Germani corporis custodes*<sup>38</sup>. The unit's title itself may serve as a general indication that the guardians' main recruiting grounds were to be found in Germany<sup>39</sup>, as is also supported by the name of the guard's professional association, the *collegium Germanorum* which under the emperors Claudius and Nero took care of the burial of those who had died in service<sup>40</sup>. Batavians were very prominent among them<sup>41</sup>. Passages of Suetonius and Dio even suggest that the label ›Batavi‹ was used as shorthand for the *Germani corporis custodes*<sup>42</sup>.

<sup>35</sup> Tac. Hist. 4, 16, 3. Cf. H. C. Konen, *Classis Germanica. Die römische Rheinflotte im 1.–3. Jahrhundert n. Chr.* (St. Katharinen 2000) 177–179. A certain Macrinus Regulus served as the commander of, not as a simple rower on the Pannonian fleet; his origin is given on a diploma of A. D. 146 (RMD 5.401) as »Neviomag(o)«, possibly to be identified with Nijmegen in the Netherlands, cf. W. Eck / P. Weiss, *Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr.* 135, 2001, 195–208, esp. 199–201. If so, he may have been a Batavian. Derks, *Ethnic Identity* 278 no. B 34.

<sup>36</sup> Caes. Gall. 7, 13, 1 mentions »Germanos equites circiter quadringentos [...] quos ab initio secum habere instituerat«. Are these Germanic equites of Caesar the predecessors of the imperial bodyguard? And if so, were there Batavians among them? According to K. Tausend, *Historia* (Stuttgart) 37, 1988, 491–497, esp. 497 it is indeed likely »daß es sich bei Caesars germanischen Reitern neben den als Doppelkämpfer dienenden Ubiern um chattische Bataver und Kannanefaten aus Oberhessen handelte« (cf. Speidel, *Kaiserreiter* p. 13: »Caesar's equites Germani [...] may have been Batavians«; N. Roymans in: Th. Grünewald (ed.), *Germania Inferior. Besiedlung, Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft an der Grenze der römisch-germanischen Welt* [Berlin 2001] 93–145, esp. 96 f.). However, this is not certain. The first author to refer to the imperial bodyguard is Suetonius: Aug. 49, 1 »(manus) Germanorum, quam usque ad cladem Varianam inter armigeros circa se habuerat« and Cal. 43 »de supplendo numero Batavorum, quos circa se habebat«. Cass. Dio 55, 24, 7, speaking about Augustus, states that he had chosen foreign horsemen to be at his disposal (Ξένοι τε ἰππῆς ἐπιλεκτοί), who were called Batavians after the island of Batavia in the Rhine (οἷς τὸ τῶν Βατάουων ἀπὸ τῆς Βατάουας τῆς ἐν τῷ Ῥήνῳ νήσου ὄνομα).

<sup>37</sup> M. P. Speidel, *Germania* 62, 1984, 31–45, reprinted in id., *Roman Army Studies II* (Stuttgart 1992)

105–119, esp. 38 f. = 112 f., convincingly argues that Dio's term ἰππῆς (55, 24, 7) deserves to be taken seriously, and that the imperial bodyguard consisted of horsemen, contra Bellen, *Leibwache* 56, who sees in them a mixed unit of infantry and cavalry. As to ἐπιλεκτοί in Ξένοι τε ἰππῆς ἐπιλεκτοί (55, 24, 7), Speidel's suggestion (1984, 39 f.) that this term seems to indicate that the horse guards were selected from the frontier cavalry units is attractive. Suetonius' use of the term »numerus« in Cal. 43 points into the same direction.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. for this title Speidel, *Germania* 62 (previous note) 36–38 = 110–112, with references to the relevant sources.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. e. g. Tac. Ann. 1, 24, 2 »additur magna pars praetoriani equitis et robora Germanorum, qui tum custodes imperatori aderant« and Jos. ant. Jud. 19, 119 πρώτους δὲ εἰς τοὺς Γερμανοὺς ἡ αἰσθησις ἀφίκετο τῆς Γαΐου τελευτῆς. δορυφόροι δ' ἦσαν οὗτοι ὁμώνυμοι τῷ ἔθνει ἀφ' οὗ κατεiléχато Κελτικῶς τάγμα παρεχόμενοι τὸ αὐτῶν (»The Germani were the first to discover the death of Gaius. They were the emperor's body guard and provided a unit with the same name as the Celtic people from which it had been enlisted«, transl. Speidel).

<sup>40</sup> Cf. e. g. CIL VI 8802, 8803, 8807 = ILS 1729, 1730, 1725.

<sup>41</sup> Bellen, *Leibwache* 36 argues »daß die als corporis custodes des Kaisers Dienst tuenden Germanen überwiegend Bataver waren und das Bataverland auch weiterhin als Rekrutierungsgebiet der kaiserlichen Leibwache galt«. From the twenty-three *Germani corporis custodes* listed by Bellen, *Leibwache* 106–113 ten were Batavi, three were Ubii, one was a Baetesius and one a Suebus. The origin of the other eight is not known. The only new inscription of the *Germani corporis custodes* that has come to light after the publication of Bellen's book (Année Épigr. 1983 no. 58) was made for a Batavian too.

<sup>42</sup> Suet. Cal. 43 and Cass. Dio 55, 24, 7 are quoted in note 36.

One of them was Gamo, guard of the emperor Nero, whose tombstone, commissioned by his ›brother‹ Hospes, was found in Rome on the Via Portuensis: »Gamo / Ner(onis) Claud(i) Caes(aris) / Aug(usti) corp(or)is cust(os) / dec(uria) Pacati / nat(ione) Bata(v)us / vix(it) ann(os) XXV / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) posuit / Hospes dec(uria) Pacati / frater et heres eius / ex collegio / Germanorum«<sup>43</sup>. At least nine other inscriptions of Germani corporis custodes with the label Bataus or Batavus are known, all from Rome<sup>44</sup>. Presumably, CIL VI 4341 (= Bellen, Leibwache no. 4), where once was read »natione Ataeus« (the inscription is lost), and *Année Épigraphique* 1968 no. 32 (= Bellen, Leibwache no. 7: Saturninus] ... natione Ba[?tavus]) should be added to this list<sup>45</sup>. After Nero's death in A. D. 68 Galba disbanded the imperial bodyguard and sent the guards back to their native country<sup>46</sup>, where in the Year of the Four Emperors a revolt broke out (see above on The Batavian revolt and its aftermath).

After A. D. 68 nothing is heard of the Germani corporis custodes, but later, presumably in the beginning of Trajan's reign, a new imperial horse guard was formed, the *equites singulares Augusti*, in which again Batavi served<sup>47</sup>. As in the case of the Germani

<sup>43</sup> *Année Épigr.* 1952 no. 147 = Bellen, Leibwache no. 14. It is not clear whether »frater« refers to kinship or is used in the sense of ›brother in arms«; cf. for this Derks/Roymans, *Auxiliary Veterans* 123 note 12 and for a similar case Speidel, *Kaiserreiter* no. 555 and below with note 67.

<sup>44</sup> CIL VI 8802 (= Bellen, Leibwache no. 17), 8803 (= Bellen, Leibwache no. 18), 8804 (= Bellen, Leibwache no. 8), 8806 (= Bellen, Leibwache no. 20), 8807 (= Bellen, Leibwache no. 9); *Année Épigr.* 1952 no. 146 (= Bellen, Leibwache no. 13), *Année Épigr.* 1952 no. 148 (= Bellen, Leibwache no. 15; Derks, *Ethnic Identity* 245 fig. 1), *Année Épigr.* 1952 no. 149 (= Bellen, Leibwache no. 16); *Année Épigr.* 1983 no. 58. Given the find-spots of the funerary monuments on the west bank of the Tiber the guard's barracks may have been located somewhere in Trastevere, perhaps on the Ianiculus. Cf. M. C. D'Onza in: J. Merten (ed.), *Nero – Kaiser, Künstler und Tyrann* (Darmstadt 2016) 74–79.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Bellen, Leibwache 106–113; Derks, *Ethnic Identity* 277 f.

<sup>46</sup> Suet. Galba 12, 2: »Germanorum cohortem a Caesaribus olim ad custodiam corporis institutam multisque experimentis fidelissimam dissolvit ac sine commodo ullo remisit in patriam«. Suetonius adds as reason for Galba's decision the support of the Germani for the designs of Gnaeus Dollabella, near whose gardens they had their camp: »quasi Cn. Dolabellae, iuxta cuius hortos tendebat, proniorem«. One may wonder whether this is true and, if so, whether this is the only reason; see for discussion e. g.

Bellen, Leibwache 91–95; M. P. Speidel, *Riding for Caesar. The Roman Emperors' Horse Guards* (London 1994) 29 f.; P. Cosme, *L'année des quatre empereurs* (Paris 2012) 88; 231 f. See for a recent study on the Germani corporis custodes G. L. Gregori / K. Geluk in: *Actes du 7e congrès international sur l'armée romaine* (forthcoming).

<sup>47</sup> The absence of German bodyguards under the Flavian emperors does not come as a surprise. After the Batavian revolt it apparently took some time before faith in their reliability was restored. In the meantime praetorians and speculatores Augusti may have taken their place, as Speidel, *Riding* (previous note) 31–35 suggests. The first author to mention the new guard is Hyginus (»wohl aus der Zeit Trajans«, Speidel, *Kaiserreiter* p. 411 with note 207): mun. castr. 7 (»equites praetoriani latere dextro praetorii, singulares imperatoris latere sinistro«; cf. 8) and 23 (»equites singulares imperatoris«, cf. 30). Whether it was Domitian or Trajan who founded the *equites singulares Augusti* is discussed by Speidel, *Riding* (previous note) 35–37. He convincingly argues that it must have been Trajan, who »raised his guard again from the same tribes and with the same tasks of serving as a bodyguard and as a crack fighting unit. By giving back to the Batavians and their neighbours the ancient honor of furnishing the emperor's bodyguard, Trajan gained for himself the finest and most faithful horsemen as well as the loyalty of Lower Germany and of the Batavian auxilia at a time when his grip on power was still new« (p. 39).

corporis custodes, Batavi could be used as another name for this guard, witness the bilingual inscription on the tombstone of Flaccius Septiminus, found in Yesildam Köyü near Anazarbus in Cilicia: »Flac(cius) Septiminu[s,] equ(es) sing(ularis) dom(inorum) nn(ostrorum) imp(p)er(atorum), [mi]lit(avit) ann(os) XIII« / Φλάκιος Σεπτίμινος ἰππεὺς ν[ο]υμέρου Βατάων τῶν κυρίων αὐτοκρατόρων στρατεύσατο ἔτη ιγ'<sup>48</sup>. Further support for this supposition is furnished by IK 56 no. 1.66: »Aurel(io) Bitho eq(uiti) singul(ari) ex numero Bataonum«<sup>49</sup>, and IK 56 no. 1.68: »Calventio Silvano veteran(o) ex numero e{x}quitum Batavonum, natione Pannonius domo Sirmi«, both also from Anazarbus<sup>50</sup>.

The origin of Flaccius Septiminus is not precisely known<sup>51</sup>, Bithus is a Thracian name<sup>52</sup> and Silvanus came from Pannonia. This clearly proves, if proof is needed, that the equites singulares Augusti, despite the fact that Batavi could be used as another name for this guard, were ethnically mixed<sup>53</sup>, as were their predecessors, the Germani corporis custodes<sup>54</sup>. And even the ala Batavorum and the cohortes Batavorum, no doubt originally (mainly) consisting of ethnic Batavians, changed their character in

<sup>48</sup> IK 56 no. 1.63A and 63B. Cf. *Année Épigr.* 1978 no. 812; *Année Épigr.* 1991 no. 1550; SEG 41, 1991 (1994), 1402; M. H. Sayar, *Epigr. Anatolica* 17, 1991, 21–25; Speidel, *Kaiserreiter* no. 688, with ad loc.: »Da der griechische Text den Verstorbenen als kaiserlichen Bataver-Reiter, der lateinische ihn aber als eques singularis bezeichnet, dürfte Batavi ein anderer Name für equites singulares Augusti sein«. As Speidel, *Kaiserreiter* ad no. 688 points out, the plural »dom(inorum) nn(ostrorum) imp(p)er(atorum)« / τῶν κυρίων αὐτοκρατόρων suggests that we have to do with early third-century emperors, either Septimius Severus and Caracalla, who visited the East in A. D. 197–202, or Diadumenianus and Macrinus, who campaigned in Syria in 217–218. Anazarbus may have been the guard's winter quarters or, in view of the fact that six gravestones of equites singulares Augusti are found there, a place where the emperors stayed for a rather long period. See for this city also Sayar (this note) 19 (with references).

<sup>49</sup> Cf. *Année Épigr.* 1991 no. 1553, Speidel, *Kaiserreiter* no. 688c.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. *Année Épigr.* 1990 no. 990; *Année Épigr.* 1991 no. 1555; Speidel, *Kaiserreiter* no. 688d; S. Pilhofer, *Romanisierung in Kilikien? Das Zeugnis der Inschriften* (second edition, Munich 2015) 166 f. no. Q 43. It seems appropriate to refer here to *Année Épigr.* 1900 no. 169 = IG X 2.1, 151 from Thessaloniki (date: »eher 269 als 276«, I. Piso, *Göttinger Forum Alt.wiss.* 18, 2015, 199–215, esp. 213), commemorating Aurelius Valentinus: Αὐρήλιον Οὐαλεντεῖνον τὸν διασημότατον τριβούνον Βαταόνων καὶ διέποντα τὰ μέρη τῆς ἡγεμονίας τὸν κτίστην ἢ λαμπροτάτη Θεσσαλονικέων {ἡ}

πόλις. This Valentinus, according to Speidel, *Kaiserreiter* no. 75a on p. 103, referring to the bilingual inscriptions from Anazarbus just mentioned, »war Tribun der »Bataver«, also der equites singulares Augusti«. Speidel's suggestion, however, is open to doubt. The view that Valentinus had been tribune of the cohorts I Batavorum milliaria pia fidelis or of the ala I Batavorum milliaria (cf. Edson ad IG X 2.1, 151, PME A 259 and Piso [this note] 213 f.) seems preferable, in view of the history of Thessalonica in the third century. »An der Spitze dieser oder einer ähnlichen Batavertruppe wurde Aurelius Valentinus nach Makedonien geschickt, um die Provinz gegen die Invasionen zu verteidigen«, Piso (this note) 213. See further PLRE I, Valentinus 8; W. Eck, *Zephyrus* 23/24, 1972/1973, 333; A. R. Birley, *Journal Roman Stud.* 62, 1972, 186. For a namesake see note 117 below. For the spelling of Batavi in Greek inscriptions see L. Robert, *Mnemosyne* 5, 1937, 302 (reprinted in id., *Opera minora selecta, épigraphie et antiquités grecques I* [Amsterdam 1969] 575), who does not mention the spelling Βατάων, because he was not yet aware of the inscriptions from Anazarbus.

<sup>51</sup> Speidel, *Kaiserreiter* ad no. 688: »mit Sicherheit aus dem Westen des Reiches«.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Sayar ad IK 56 no. 1.66, with note 184; D. Dana, *Onomasticon Thracicum* (*OnomThrac*). Répertoire des noms indigènes de Thrace, Macédoine Orientale, Mésies, Dacie et Bithynie (Athens 2014) 40–58.

<sup>53</sup> See Speidel, *Kaiserreiter* p. 14–17 for the origins of the equites singulares Augusti.

<sup>54</sup> For the Germani corporis custodes see nn. 38–42 above.

the course of time<sup>55</sup>. However, the following equites singulares Augusti were, in view of the designation (natione) Bataus, Badaus, natione Ulp(ia) Novi(o)magi Bataus or the like on their epitaphs, ethnic Batavians: Titus Aurelius Probus<sup>56</sup>, Titus Aurelius Scribonius<sup>57</sup>, Victorius Victorinus<sup>58</sup>, Simplex<sup>59</sup>, Simplicinius Serenus<sup>60</sup>, Avitus<sup>61</sup>, the brothers Candidinius Verax and Candidinius Spectatus<sup>62</sup>, Superinius Peregrinus<sup>63</sup>, Divius Tau[...]<sup>64</sup>, and Aurelius Victor<sup>65</sup>. The same holds good for some anonymi<sup>66</sup>. Presumably, Aurelius Marcellinus, »frater« of Aurelius Victor, and one of the heirs who erected Victor's tombstone, can be added to this list, assuming that the designation »frater«, in view of the common family name, is to be taken in its literal sense<sup>67</sup>.

At the end of this section we want to draw attention to the inscription on a votive altar to Hercules Magusanus, which »cives Batavi sive Thraces adlecti ex provincia Germania inferiore« put up in the headquarters of the imperial guard's army camp in Rome as a token of their gratitude for the emperor Elagabal's safe return to the imperial capital<sup>68</sup>. The dedicators must have been equites singulares Augusti who were recruited from the auxilia in Lower Germany<sup>69</sup>. The dedication to Hercules Magusanus, a Lower Rhine god who was venerated above all by the Batavians, may be explained by the dedicators' origin, the last province of service before they were transferred to

<sup>55</sup> See note 5 above.

<sup>56</sup> CIL VI 3220 = Speidel, Kaiserreiter no. 112 (date: saec. II, after 138 A. D.).

<sup>57</sup> CIL VI 3223 = Speidel, Kaiserreiter no. 136 (date: saec. II).

<sup>58</sup> CIL VI 32834 = Speidel, Kaiserreiter no. 173 (date: early saec. II).

<sup>59</sup> Speidel, Kaiserreiter no. 144 (date: saec. II), cf. AIIRoma 4, no. 88; Derks, Ethnic Identity 260 fig. 8.

<sup>60</sup> CIL VI 32869bb = Speidel, Kaiserreiter no. 211 (date: saec. II).

<sup>61</sup> Speidel, Kaiserreiter no. 374 (date: saec. II or III).

<sup>62</sup> CIL VI 3240 = Speidel, Kaiserreiter no. 642 (date: saec. III).

<sup>63</sup> CIL VI 3289 = Speidel, Kaiserreiter no. 656 (date: saec. III).

<sup>64</sup> Année Épigr. 1983 no. 55 = Speidel, Kaiserreiter no. 552 (date: saec. III).

<sup>65</sup> Speidel, Kaiserreiter no. 555 (date: saec. III), cf. AIIRoma 4 no. 92; in line 6 we read »n(atione) B«, »eher B(atavus) als B(essus)« (Speidel ad loc.).

<sup>66</sup> Speidel, Kaiserreiter no. 277 (date: saec. II), cf. AIIRoma 4 no. 56; Speidel, Kaiserreiter no. 352 (date: saec. II or III), cf. AIIRoma 4 no. 86; CIL VI 32812a = Speidel, Kaiserreiter no. 442 (date: saec. II or III). Although the element »Bataus« is missing, the following equites singulares Augusti probably also belong to this group, because their place of origin was Ulpia Noviomagus: Tiberius Claudius Saturninus (CIL VI 3284 = Speidel, Kaiserreiter no. 110),

Titus Aurelius Vindex (CIL VI 3237 = Speidel, Kaiserreiter no. 166), Aurelius (CIL VI 32843 = Speidel, Kaiserreiter no. 284) and Valerianus (Speidel, Kaiserreiter no. 181). Whether »Ulpus Valentinus, nati(ō) B(atavus?)« (CIL VI 37255 = Speidel, Kaiserreiter no. 554), »Septimius [...] n(atione) B(atavus?)« (Année Épigr. 1983 no. 56 = Speidel, Kaiserreiter no. 589) and an anonymous (Speidel, Kaiserreiter no. 298: »[nati(ō)] Cl(audia) Ara Ba[...]« were also Batavians, is uncertain. In the case of Speidel, Kaiserreiter 710: »[...] Ulp(i)o Novio[ma]gi [...]«, Batavo, Speidel ad loc. suggests that we have to do with a son of an eques singularis Augusti, in that of Speidel, Kaiserreiter 703a: »Amandus, [na]t(ione) Ba[tavo]« with a freedman or a relative.

<sup>67</sup> Speidel, Kaiserreiter no. 555. Cf. Année Épigr. 1952 no. 147 = Bellen, Leibwache no. 14, see also above with note 43. The relationship between Aurelius Victor and Aurelius Ianuarius, who is on Speidel, Kaiserreiter no. 555 also mentioned as heir of Victor, is not known.

<sup>68</sup> CIL VI 31162 = Speidel, Kaiserreiter no. 62. For the camp see A. W. Busch, Militär in Rom. Militärische und paramilitärische Einheiten im kaiserzeitlichen Stadtbild (Wiesbaden 2011) 72–83.

<sup>69</sup> Other equites singulares Augusti were chosen from cavalry units in other provinces, cf. e. g. CIL VI 31164 = Speidel, Kaiserreiter no. 63, CIL VI 3234 = Speidel, Kaiserreiter no. 541, CIL VI 3308 = Speidel, Kaiserreiter no. 659.



the imperial guard in Rome, or the tradition upheld in their regiment<sup>70</sup>. What exactly is meant by the expression »cives Batavi sive Thraces« is open to debate. »Das Wort sive ist hier als ›und‹ zu verstehen«, according to Speidel<sup>71</sup>, in which case the expression is to be taken as an objective description of two ethnic groups of equites, which had served before in the cavalry of the army in Lower Germany. This could have been in one and the same unit, in which case the inscription is evidence of the mixed ethnic composition of auxilia resulting from a practice of local recruitment (cf. above note 5), but a service in different units stationed in Lower Germany should not be ruled out.

Another possibility, mentioned by David Noy and Ton Derks, is to take »sive« in the sense of »vel potius«, intended to correct or specify the preceding qualification<sup>72</sup>. Both argue that in that case the inscription referred to Batavians recruited to a Thracian unit while it was stationed in Germania Inferior<sup>73</sup>. This interpretation implies, that with the correction introduced by »sive« precedence was given to the nominal identity of the regiment over the actual ethnic identity of its soldiers. While this may be true, theoretically the reverse is also possible: Thracian soldiers recruited to a Batavian unit. As far as we know, however, the ala Batavorum was not present in Lower Germany in the early third century.

A final option which we would like to put forward is, that the expression »sive« refers to the ethnically mixed composition not of the Lower Germanic auxilia, but of the equites singulares Augusti themselves. As we have seen<sup>74</sup>, due to the dominance of Batavians, this special unit was sometimes designated, both by others and by the members themselves, as Batavi. The expression could therefore have been meant to apply specifically to the Thracian element in the guard as the sole agent responsible for the erection of the monument. This can only be true, however, if we accept that through the interaction with soldiers from Germania Inferior, the Lower Germanic god Hercules Magusanus had been adopted by the Thracians.

<sup>70</sup> On Hercules Magusanus as a Lower Rhine god, probably one of the principal gods of the Batavians, see Dessau ad ILS 2188; Bogaers, Gallo-Romeinse tempels 173; Bogaers, Bataven en Canninefaten 268–271; M.-L. Genevriér in: P. Lévêque / M.-M. Mactoux (eds.), *Les grandes figures religieuses. Fonctionnement pratique et symbolique dans l'Antiquité* (Paris 1986) 371–377; T. Derks, *Gods, Temples and Ritual Practices. The Transformation of Religious Ideas and Values in Roman Gaul* (Amsterdam 1998) 112–115; A. Schäfer in: W. Spickermann (ed.), *Religion in den germanischen Provinzen Roms* (Tübingen 2001) 259–284, esp. 260 f.; N. Roymans in: T. Derks / N. Roymans (eds.), *Ethnic Constructs in Antiquity. The Role of Power and Tradition* (Amsterdam 2009) 219–238; Haynes, *Roman Auxilia* 232–235. The usurper Postumus (PLRE I, Postumus 2; T. D. Barnes, *Phoenix* 26, 1972, 166 f.) worshipped among other deities Hercules Magusanus (cf. J. F. Drinkwater, *The Gallic Empire. Separatism and Continuity in the North-Western Provinces of the Roman Empire A. D. 260–274* [Stuttgart 1987] 162). »It is tempting, but probably over-bold, to speculate that he himself was of Batavian origin« (ibid., p. 163).

<sup>71</sup> Speidel ad Speidel, *Kaiserreiter* no. 62. Cf. J. E. A. Th. Bogaers in: *Actes du IXe Congrès international d'études sur les frontières romaines*, Mamaia 1972 (Bucarest 1974) 446–463, esp. 459: »cives Batavi sive (= et) Thraces«, and R. Kühner / C. Stegmann, *Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache II 2* (second edition, Hannover 1914) 439: »Im Spät. steht sive nicht selten geradezu im Sinne von et«.

<sup>72</sup> D. Noy, *Foreigners at Rome. Citizens and Strangers* (London 2000) 222 and Derks, *Ethnic Identity* 254; for »sive« in this sense see Kühner/Stegmann II 2 (previous note) 438.

<sup>73</sup> Thracian cavalry units known to have been in garrison in Lower Germany are: the ala I Thracum, the ala Classiana Gallorum et Thracum and, perhaps, the cohors IV Thracum equitata pia fidelis; for the history of these units see Alföldy, *Hilfstruppen* 17–19, 36–37, 71 f.; Bogaers, *Actes IXe Congrès* (note 71); B. and H. Galsterer, *Die römischen Steininschriften aus Köln* (second edition, Mayence 2010) no. 358; RMD 4.239.

<sup>74</sup> See above with note 48.

## Legionaries and praetorians

Occasionally we find Batavi in the legions: »Titus Flavius Germanus, natione Bata(v)us«, veteran of the legio XXII Primigenia pia fidelis<sup>75</sup>, »Celerinius Fidelis, civis Batavus«, a miles in the legio XXX Ulpia Victrix, who was attached as exactus to the staff of the procurator provinciae Lugdunensis<sup>76</sup>, and an anonymous centurio of the legio II Parthica, father of Titus Flavius Maritimus who is called »eq(ues) R(omanus) nat(ione) Batav(u)s« (it follows that the father was a Batavian too)<sup>77</sup>. To these legionaries perhaps two others should be added. An inscription, probably from Apulum (Alba Iulia), rediscovered in 1966, and now in the museum of Sebeş in Romania, comprises a list of more than twenty names of which the cognomen of the last one, Aurelius Bata(v)us, refers to a relationship with the Batavi. In line 17 one reads »coh(ortis) VII«, which indicates that the names belonged to soldiers, possibly men of the legio XIII Gemina, which had its base in Apulum in the second and third centuries<sup>78</sup>. A »veter(anus)« of the legio X Gemina pia fidelis by

<sup>75</sup> CIL XIII 7577. Derks, *Ethnic Identity* 278 no. B 22 (date: 98–ca. 125). É. Espérandieu, *Recueil général des bas-reliefs, statues et bustes de la Germanie romaine. Complément du recueil général des bas-reliefs, statues et bustes de la Gaule romaine* (Paris and Brussels 1931) 22 f. no. 28; M. Mattern, *Die römischen Steindenkmäler des Stadtgebiets von Wiesbaden und der Limesstrecke zwischen Marienfels und Zugmantel* (Bonn 1999) 63–65 no. 5; on p. 65: »aufgrund typologischer, stilistischer und onomastischer Details dürfte die Stele noch im ersten Viertel des 2. Jhs. n. Chr. entstanden sein«; F. Bérard, *L'armée romaine à Lyon* (Rome 2015) 213: »(Germanus') cognomen et aussi l'origo, indiquée [...] par le mot natio, laissent supposer une citoyenneté récente et vraisemblablement obtenue lors de l'entrée dans la légion«. See for the history of the legio XXII Primigenia, which was founded by Caligula or, less likely, Claudius, T. Franke in: *Le Bohec/Wolff, légions 95–104*. For a discussion of the possible reasons why Germanus' stone had been set up in Wiesbaden instead of Mayence see G. Wesch-Klein, *Soziale Aspekte des römischen Heerwesens in der Kaiserzeit* (Stuttgart 1998) 87. For pia fidelis see below with note 100.

<sup>76</sup> CIL XIII 1847 = ILS 2389 = M. Reuter, *Legio XXX Ulpia Victrix. Ihre Geschichte, ihre Soldaten, ihre Denkmäler* (Darmstadt 2012) 71. Derks, *Ethnic Identity* 259 fig. 7; 280 no. B 66 (date: 222–235). Cf. F. Bérard in: *Visions de l'Occident romain. Hommages à Yann Le Bohec* (Paris 2012) 381–397; Bérard, *Lyon* (previous note) 524–526. The legio XXX Ulpia Victrix was founded in 105 by the emperor Trajan. See for its history Y. Le Bohec in: *Le Bohec/Wolff, légions 71–74*; R. Haensch, *Kölner Jahrb.* 34, 2001, 89–134, esp. 103 and 126. As to exactus,

ThLL V 2, 1137.69 notes: »i. q. administer actarii, is qui ab actis vel ex actis [...] est«. Cf. K. Stauner, *Das offizielle Schriftwesen des römischen Heeres von Augustus bis Gallienus* (27 v. Chr. – 268 n. Chr.). Eine Untersuchung zu Struktur, Funktion und Bedeutung der offiziellen militärischen Verwaltungsdokumentation und zu deren Schreibern (Bonn 2004) 140 f.

<sup>77</sup> CIL III 14403a; Derks, *Ethnic Identity* 280 no. B 68; IK 41 no. 451; PG 249 E 192. The legio II Parthica was created by Septimius Severus; see for its history C. Ricci in: *Le Bohec/Wolff, légions 397–406*; cf. also W. Van Rengen in: *ibid.* 407–410; N. Pollard / J. Berry, *The Complete Roman Legions* (London 2012) 204–209; P. Faure in: F. Bertholet / Chr. Schmidt Heidenreich (eds.), *Entre archéologie et épigraphie. Nouvelles perspectives sur l'armée romaine* (Bern 2013) 17–77. In view of the date of the inscription (27 September 244), the father of Titus Flavius Maritimus must have taken part in Gordian III's expedition against the Persians, for which see e. g. E. Kettenhofen, *Die römisch-persischen Kriege des 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. nach der Inschrift Šāhpuhrs I. an der Ka'be-ye Zartošt (ŠKZ)* (Wiesbaden 1982) 19–37; K. Mosig-Walburg, *Römer und Perser vom 3. Jahrhundert bis zum Jahr 363 n. Chr.* (Gutenberg 2009) 31–43; K. Herrmann, *Gordian III., Kaiser einer Umbruchszeit* (Speyer 2013) 132–170.

<sup>78</sup> *Année Épigr.* 1971 no. 370 = IDR III 5.451. Derks, *Ethnic Identity* 280 no. E 6 (date: after 161). V. Wollmann, *Germania* 50, 1972, 247–251, esp. 247: »vielleicht Soldaten der XIII. Legion (Gemina)«, but he leaves open the possibility that they belonged to other units; Haalebos, *Nederlanders 200*: »Eveneens in Apulum diende een Bataaf, waarschijnlijk als lid van de lijfwacht van de gouverneur of als soldaat van de Legio XIII Gemina«. For



the name of Iulius Genialis fulfilled his vow to Hercules Magusenus in the temple of Empel near 's-Hertogenbosch in the Netherlands. It has been suggested that he could have been a Batavian, in view of the fact that Hercules Magusenus or Magusanus seems to have been more or less the national god of the Batavians<sup>79</sup>. But soldiers, who were serving in the Tenth Legion by the late first and early second centuries, mostly originated from Spain or Narbonese Gaul, as for instance their tombstones from Nijmegen indicate. Since the name Gaius Iulius was widespread in Narbonensis, particularly so in the late republican colonies, a case could also be made for a provenance from Southern Gaul. To conclude these lines about legionaries we point to an epitaph from Asia Minor, not of an ethnic Batavian, but of a ἑκατόνταρχος ἐκ Βαταόνων, corresponding to *centurio ex singularibus*, who had been promoted from the *equites singulares Augusti* to the rank of *centurio* in an unnamed legion<sup>80</sup>.

As to praetorians, we know of at least one Batavian who in the third century worked his way up to the prestigious praetorian guard, which, as a result of Septimius Severus' reform of 193, recruited its soldiers no longer from the Italian peninsula, but from the legions in the provinces<sup>81</sup>. Sanctinius Probinus, »nat(ione) Bata(v)us«, was a soldier (*miles*) of the fourth praetorian cohort *Pia Vindex* »who served in the praetorian camp until the day he was released from human affairs«: »qui mil(itavit) in castr(o) praet(oriano) usque die qua exemptus est r[e]bus humanis«<sup>82</sup>. His monument (»memoria«) was put up by his brother Sanctinius Genialis<sup>83</sup>. Perhaps there were other Batavian praetorians too. Marcus Amusan(ius) Hylacus is mentioned on a praetorian *laterculus* with thirty other names which was found in the area of the praetorian camp in Rome<sup>84</sup>. Since »Nov(i)om(agi)« is added to his name, a not unlikely inference would

the history of the legion in Dacia see I. Piso in: Le Bohec/Wolff, *légions* 205–225, reprinted in I. Piso, *An der Nordgrenze des Römischen Reiches. Ausgewählte Studien* (1972–2003) (Stuttgart 2005) 401–428; 220–224 = 422–427. Another »Aur(elius) Bata[(vus)]« is known from an inscription found in Rome (CIL VI 19653). Derks, *Ethnic Identity* 282 no. E 7. Cf. Kakoschke, *Germanen* (note 6) 227: »Der Mann [...] gibt sich [...] nicht als Soldat zu erkennen. Unter welchen Voraussetzungen er oder seine Vorfahren nach Rom kamen, lässt sich selbstverständlich nicht eindeutig klären. Doch wird man hier mit einiger Berechtigung [...] einen militärischen Hintergrund annehmen dürfen«.

<sup>79</sup> Année Épigr. 1990 no. 740. Derks, *Ethnic Identity* 281 no. D 8 (date: 96–shortly after 104). J. K. Haalebos in: Le Bohec/Wolff, *légions* 467–489, esp. 478: »Es stellt sich die Frage, ob es sich dabei um einen nach seiner Heimat zurückgekehrten Bataver oder einen im Süden rekrutierten Soldat handelte, der sich nach seiner Dienstzeit eine Villa im Batavergebiet erworben hat«. For the history of the legio X Gemina see Pollard/Berry, *Legions* (note 77) 187–189, for Hercules Magusanus cf. N. Roymans /

T. Derks, *Arch. Korrb.* 20, 1990, 443–452, esp. 450: »Möglicherweise war Magusanus der Hauptgott der Bataver«, and above, note 70.

<sup>80</sup> Speidel, *Kaiserreiter* no. 757. Speidel ad loc.: »Die Wendung ἑκατόνταρχος ἐκ Βαταόνων, entspricht dem lateinischen *centurio ex singularibus* [...], der Verstorbene wurde demnach vom Kaiserreiter zum Legionscenturionen versetzt [...] Zeit: Anfang 3. Jahrhundert«.

<sup>81</sup> See for Severus' reform e. g. E. Birley in: *Epigraphische Studien* 8 (Düsseldorf 1969) 63–82, reprinted in id., *The Roman Army. Papers 1929–1986* (Amsterdam 1988) 21–40; R. E. Smith, *Historia* (Stuttgart) 21, 1972, 481–500; S. Bingham, *The Praetorian Guard. A History of Rome's Elite Special Forces* (London 2013) 41–47.

<sup>82</sup> CIL VI 2548 = ILS 2040, now lost. Derks, *Ethnic Identity* 279 no. B 52 (date: after 193).

<sup>83</sup> Derks, *Ethnic Identity* 279 no. B 53; for »memoria« in the sense of »monument« see C. Ricci, *Scien. Antichità* 16, 2010, 163–180.

<sup>84</sup> CIL VI 32627. See for such *laterculi* R. R. J. Benefiel, *Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr.* 134, 2012, 221–232; D. Redaelli, *ibid.* 209, 2019, 270–272.

be that he came from Ulpia Noviomagus (Nijmegen) and was therefore a Batavian<sup>85</sup>. However, the possibility that he came from another Noviomagus (Der Neue Pauly lists eight places of that name) cannot be ruled out<sup>86</sup>. On the same laterculus we find the names of Marcus Ingenuinius Super and Marcus Aurelius Aquilinus, followed by their place of origin indicated as »Nov«, which some scholars regard as an abbreviation of Noviomagi or Noviomago. As in the case of Amusanius Hylacus, this could mean that they, too, came from Ulpia Noviomagus (Nijmegen) and were Batavians<sup>87</sup>. As we have seen, however, this conclusion, though attractive, is not cogent. Moreover, in Clauss/Slaby we find »Nov(ioduno?)«<sup>88</sup>.

### The ala Batavorum in Germania Inferior

An ala Batavorum is mentioned for the first time by Tacitus<sup>89</sup> as a unit in the army of Munius Lupercus which defected to Civilis in A. D. 69. We have already met its commander: Claudius Labeo, praefectus alae Batavorum<sup>90</sup>. Labeo, who was not on good terms with Civilis, was detained by the Batavian leader and sent to the land of the Frisii; after his return he no longer commanded the ala Batavorum<sup>91</sup>.

Whether Labeo's ala Batavorum is to be identified with the post-Flavian unit of that name is not clear. Most scholars assume that the former ala was disbanded after the revolt, and that the latter was a new creation<sup>92</sup>. However, as in the case of the cohortes Batavorum<sup>93</sup>, the possibility of continuity cannot be ruled out<sup>94</sup>. Be that as it may, we hear again of an ala Batavorum in A. D. 98. On 20 February of that year a constitutio for Germania Inferior was issued by the emperor Trajan. A copy, found in Elst in the Netherlands<sup>95</sup>, shows that its recipient was a Batavian, a former soldier, who was honorably discharged, and apparently returned to his homeland after his retirement, which seems to have been quite a normal practice<sup>96</sup>; his name is unknown, but he was the son of a man called Gaverus or Gaverius:

<sup>85</sup> So Bogaers, *Bataven en Canninefaten* 286 f., Derks, *Ethnic Identity* 279 no. B 54 (date: after 193; Benefiel [note 84] 231 f. argues for the early 210s). Cf. »Ulpia Noviomagi Batav(u)s« in CIL III 5918b = 11936 and »Ulp(ia) Novi(o) magi Bata(v)us« in CIL VI 32869bb = Speidel, *Kaiserreiter* no. 144.

<sup>86</sup> Der neue Pauly VIII (2000) 1032–1035. Cf. Eck/Weiss, *Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr.* 135 (note 35) 199–201 for a similar case about the origin of Macrinus, commander of the Pannonian fleet: »Neviomag(o)«.

<sup>87</sup> See note 85 above.

<sup>88</sup> EDCS 21800366.

<sup>89</sup> Hist. 4, 18, 1–4. In Hist. 4, 12, 3 (»domi delectus eques«) and 4, 17, 3 (»Batavo equite«) Tacitus speaks without specification of Batavian cavalry. Strobel, *Bataverkohorten* 284 assumes that in the latter case, too, an ala is meant, and speaks of the existence of two alae Batavorum: »eine Ala Batavorum, die 68 n. Chr. entscheidenden Anteil an der Niederlage des Vindex hatte [i. e. the Batavus eques of 4, 17, 3], ferner eine weitere Ala unter dem Kommando des Batavers Iulius (sic) Labeo [i. e. the ala of 4, 18, 1–4]«.

<sup>90</sup> Above with note 17.

<sup>91</sup> Tac. Hist. 4, 18, 4; 4, 56, 3.

<sup>92</sup> So already RE I (1894) 1223–1270 s. v. Ala 2 (C. Cichorius), esp. 1234. Cf. Willems/Enkevort, *Nijmegen* 23.

<sup>93</sup> Above with note 31.

<sup>94</sup> For discussion see e. g. Alföldy, *Hilfstruppen* 14 with note 59; J. K. Haalebos, *Saalburg-Jahrb.* 50, 2000, 31–72, esp. 42 f. Cf. Strobel, *Bataverkohorten* 286: »Aus den beiden 69 n. Chr. belegten batavischen Reiterauxilien [see our note 89] wurde wohl unter weitgehender Zusammenfassung der überlebenden Reiterei des Civilis, soweit diese nicht in den Cohortes equitatae erfaßt war, die Ala I Batavorum milliaria gebildet«.

<sup>95</sup> RMD 4.216.

<sup>96</sup> Cf. Derks/Roymans, *Auxiliary Veterans* 125–129, Eck/Pangerl, *Diplomata militaria* 186: »Die Auswertung dieser neuen Diplome ergibt jedoch, daß die Veteranen, die in diesen Diplomen greifbar sind, zu einem erheblichen Teil in ihre Heimat zurückkehrten, auch wenn sie, was in einem hohen Maße der Fall war, in weit entfernten Provinzen Dienst getan hatten«, Roselaar, *State-Organised Mobility* 152–157.

»[dimis]so honesta missione ex gregale [...] Gaveri f. Batav(o)«. The name of his unit is only partially preserved, but its identification with the ala Batavorum is generally accepted (and now confirmed by RMM 9): »[alae I Bat]avorum cui praest [...] T. f. Vol. Rufus«<sup>97</sup>.

In Nijmegen in the Netherlands a richly equipped burial place from the first century A. D., which among other things contained weapons, was excavated in 1982. »The combination of weapons – shield with a light boss and three spears with iron spearheads – suggests that the deceased served in a cavalry unit, possibly the Batavian cavalry, the ala Batavorum«<sup>98</sup>.

The abbreviation »c.R.« on a military diploma for Germania Inferior, of unknown provenance but probably from the Lower Danube region<sup>99</sup>, testifies to the fact that the ala Batavorum had received a block grant of citizenship before 13 March 101: »equitibus et peditibus exercitus pii fidelis qui militant in alis sex [...] quae appellantur ... et Batavorum c(ivium) R(omanorum)«. The honorific formula »pius fidelis« (which originally was »pius fidelis Domitianus«), mentioned on the diploma as a designation of the exercitus, had been awarded by the emperor Domitian to the army of Germania Inferior for its loyalty during the revolt of Saturninus in A. D. 89 (after Domitian's death in 96 »Domitianus« was dropped)<sup>100</sup>.

### The ala Batavorum in Pannonia and Dacia

As is clear from a diploma of 3 May 112 for Pannonia Superior from an unknown find-spot<sup>101</sup>, the ala Batavorum was moved from Germania Inferior to Pannonia Superior, probably to take part in the Dacian Wars of Trajan<sup>102</sup>. The diploma, now in Mayence, also records the unit for the first time as »I« (Prima) and »∞« (milliaria): »equitibus et peditibus qui militaverunt in alis quinque [...] quae appellantur I Batavor(um) milliaria c(ivium) R(omanorum) p(ia) f(idelis)«<sup>103</sup>.

<sup>97</sup> Derks, *Ethnic Identity* 278 no. B 19, cf. J. K. Haalebos, *Numaga* 47, 2000, 8–41; Haalebos, *Saalburg-Jahrb.* 50 (note 94). RMD 4.216 accepts the restoration proposed by Haalebos: »[alae I Bat]avorum«, as do M. Biancardi, *La cavalleria romana del Principato nelle province occidentali dell'impero* (Bari 2004) 95 and Derks. As is noted below, cf. note 103, the designation I, here a conjecture, is attested for the first time in A. D. 112 (RMD 4.223 = RMM 15). Roselaar, *State-Organised Mobility* 153, mistakenly thinks that the veteran of Elst belonged to a cohors Batavorum.

<sup>98</sup> A. Koster, *The Cemetery of Noviomagus and the Wealthy Burials of the Municipal Elite* (Nijmegen 2013) 261; cf. ead. in: M. Struck (ed.), *Römerzeitliche Gräber als Quellen zu Religion, Bevölkerungsstruktur und Sozialgeschichte* (Mayence 1993) 293–296, esp. 296; Derks/Roymans, *Auxiliary Veterans* 133 (»an attractive hypothesis to regard the deceased [...] as the commander of a Batavian auxiliary unit who had returned to his homeland«).

<sup>99</sup> RMM 9. For the fragments of another copy of the constitution of 13 March 101, for the reconstruction of which RMM 9 has been used, see *Année Épigr.* 2013 no. 2192 = W. Eck / A.

Pangerl, *Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr.* 187, 2013, 273–294, esp. 279 f.

<sup>100</sup> Holder, *Auxilia* 37 f.; Holder, *Exercitus*; W. Eck / A. Pangerl, *Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr.* 148, 2004, 259–268, esp. 264.

<sup>101</sup> RMD 4.223. Cf. M. M. Roxan, *Electrum* 1, 1997, 161–173.

<sup>102</sup> E. g. K. Strobel, *Untersuchungen zu den Dakerkriegen Trajans. Studien zur Geschichte des mittleren und unteren Donaumes in der Hohen Kaiserzeit* (Bonn 1984) 106; Holder, *Exercitus* 250, and Roxan and Holder ad RMD 4.223, p. 437 note 3. – In P. A. Holder, *Dacia* 50, 2006, 141–174, esp. 148 the issue is left open: »On one or other occasion ala Batavorum c. R. was withdrawn (sc. from Germania Inferior) and is attested as ala I Batavorum milliaria c. R. in Pannonia superior in 112«.

<sup>103</sup> RMM 15. The designation I (Prima) surprises: other alae Batavorum are unknown; for a similar case see below with note 141. For the size of alae see Cupcea/Marcu, *Dacia* 50 (note 32) 181–183; on p. 182: »The first time that this sign (i. e. ∞) occurs is in AD 98«. For the development of such signs see G. Gundermann, *Die Zahlzeichen* (Giessen 1899) 30–33.

A copy of another constitution of 5 July 115 for the same province<sup>104</sup> mentions, apart from the First and Second Batavian cohorts<sup>105</sup>, also the ala I Batavorum – information about the provenance of the diploma is lacking. Interestingly, its recipient, Marcus Ulpius Victor, was a Batavian who belonged to this unit and had apparently received Roman citizenship during his service, probably as part of the block grant to the unit by Trajan: »Alae I Batavor(um) ∞ c(ivium) R(omanorum) p(iae) f(idelis) cui praefuit Q(uintus) Iulius Bovius Avitus ex gregale M(arco) Ulpio Celsi f(ilio) Victori Batav(o) et Proculae fil(iae) eius et Festae fil(iae) eius«<sup>106</sup>.

Before A. D. 136/138 the ala left Pannonia and was relocated in Dacia Superior, as we learn from a diploma on which the unit is mentioned: »I Bat[avor(um)] (milliaria) [...]«<sup>107</sup>. When the ala was transferred is unclear, »but it may not have been until Hadrian's reign«<sup>108</sup>. Its presence in Dacia in 142 is attested by *Année Épigr.* 2012 no. 1945: »I Bat(avorum) (milliaria)«, in 144 by CIL XVI 90 (per coniecturam)<sup>109</sup>, in 158 by CIL XVI 108: »in Dacia superiore [...] in alis III quae appel(lantur) I Batav(or)um (milliaria)«, and in A. D. 179 by RMD 2.123 »equitibus et peditibus qui militaverunt in alis duabus quae appellantur I Batavor(um) [...] et sunt in Dacia superiore«<sup>110</sup>.

The evidence of these diplomas can be complemented by that of inscriptions on stone, such as a funerary inscription from Apulum (modern Alba Iulia), found in 1978, for a young soldier who had first served in a numerus Illyricorum before he was trans-

<sup>104</sup> *Année Épigr.* 2012 no. 1128.

<sup>105</sup> The First and Second Batavian cohorts are also mentioned on the diploma just quoted, RMD 4.223 = RMM 15 of 3 May 112.

<sup>106</sup> RMD 2.86 of 16 December A. D. 113 cannot be adduced as evidence that the ala I Batavorum was stationed in Pannonia, pace Roxan. According to Roxan p. 149 note 3 ad loc. among the (four or five) alae mentioned in the document was an ala called I Batavor(um). However, reexamination of the text (W. Eck / A. Pangerl, *Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr.* 180, 2012, 287–294, esp. 292 with note 8) has proved that only three alae had been mentioned, and that the ala I Batavorum was not among them (with I Batavorum the cohort of that name must be meant). Neither can CIL III 3676 = ILS 2558 be adduced as indisputable evidence, although this »most famous inscription about the Batavi in the Roman army« (M. P. Speidel, *Ancient Soc.* 22, 1991, 277–282, esp. 277), which opens with: »Ille ego Pannoniis quondam notissimus oris / inter mille viros fortis primusque Batavos, / Adriano potui qui iudice vasta profundi / aequora Danuvii cunctis transare sub armis«, has been interpreted in this way by some scholars, e. g. Bang, *Germanen* (note 31) 38 f.; W. Wagner, *Die Dislokation der römischen Auxiliarformationen in den Provinzen Noricum, Pannonien, Moesien und Dakien von Augustus bis Gallienus* (Berlin 1938) 16; K. Strobel in: *Studien zur Alten Geschichte*, Siegfried Lauffer zum 70. Geburtstag am 4. August 1981 dargebracht III (Rome 1986) 903–967, esp. 943 note 174: »Die

Inschrift kann wohl nur auf die Ala I Batavorum bezogen werden«; cf. Strobel, *Batavkohorten* 286. R. W. Davies, *Arch. Journal* 125, 1968, 73–100, reprinted in Davies, *Service* (note 16) 93–123, 259–269, 89 = 111. He thinks that the inscription concerns »an eques of cohorts III Batavorum milliaria equitata, which was at that time stationed at Adony (Vetus Salina)«. Speidel (this note) argues that another unit has a better claim: the equites singulares Augusti. – P. Kovács, *Acta Arch. Acad. Scien. Hungaricae* 69, 2018, 311–320 regards »this possibility [...] the most plausible one« (315), but states (317) that »the question of the rider's [...] unit must remain unsolved«.

<sup>107</sup> RMD 5.384. Holder ad loc.: »It is clear from the unit list that this is a constitution for Dacia superior«. The document was »probably found at Micia, Dacia superior«.

<sup>108</sup> Holder, *Dacia* 50 (note 102) 144.

<sup>109</sup> D. Detschew, *Jahresh. Österr. Arch. Inst.* 29, 1935, 54–59, referring to CIL XVI 108, proposed to read »I Batav(or)um« in the lacuna of CIL XVI 90: »qui mil(itaverunt) in al(is) III et coh(ortibus) X, quae app(ell)antur [...] [e]t I Hisp(anorum) et I Gall(or)um«. Detschew's proposal has been accepted by e. g. Holder ad RMD 5.384 and W. Eck / A. Pangerl, *Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr.* 181, 2012, 173–182, esp. 178.

<sup>110</sup> Roxan ad loc.: »it is worth remarking that ala I Batavorum [...] [is] not signalled as milliary, although [the unit] had been identified as such in previous diplomas«; cf. e. g. CIL XVI 108.

ferred to the ala (I) Batavorum (milliaria): »Ael(io) Dubitato missicio alae Bat(avorum) ex a(la) n(umeri) Il(l)yr(icorum) q(ui) v(ixit) an(nos) XXX«<sup>111</sup>. Also from Apulum stems another funerary inscription, which is now lost<sup>112</sup>. The deceased, whose name Dasa(s) points to an Illyrian origin, as does the name of his father Scenobarbus<sup>113</sup>, had served five years when he died at the age of thirty-one: »Dasa(n)ti [S]cenobarbi eq(uiti) alae Ba[t]a- vorum ex n(umero) sing(ularium) st[ip(endiorum)] V [a]n(norum) XXXI Bers(ius) [I]n- genu(u)s de[c(urio)] ex n(umero) eodem (h)er(r)es posuit«<sup>114</sup>. Presumably, Gaius Iulius Corinthianus from Theveste (modern Tebessa in Algeria), known from another lost gravestone found in Apulum<sup>115</sup>, had been prefect of the ala I Batavorum. His funerary inscription does not say so explicitly: »prae(fecto) alae Campag(onum) idem (milliariae)«. However, the omission of the unit's name must imply, that at the time there was only one such ala in the province, viz. the ala I Batavorum<sup>116</sup>. We have more certainty about the prefecture of Titus Attius Tutor, who, after an impressive career, retired to his native city Flavia Solva in Noricum: »prae(fecto) alae I Batavor(um) miliar(iae)«<sup>117</sup>.

<sup>111</sup> Année Épigr. 1987 no. 829 = IDR III 5.475. Cf. C. L. Băluță, *Apulum* 24, 1987, 169–172; C. Ciongradi, *Grabmonument und sozialer Status in Oberdakien (Cluj-Napoca 2007)* 233 no. Sc/A 12 (Date, according to Piso ad IDR III 5.475: »à partir du règne d'Antonin le Pieux [...] mais pas après le IIe siècle«); for »missicius« see ThLL VIII 1137.85: »i. q. militia solutus vel confecta militia missione donandus« and cf. Dig. 49, 16, 13, 3. The combination »ala numeri«, also found in CIL III 6248 = CIL III 8074,7 = ILD 454 = Année Épigr. 1992 no. 1474, is rare.

<sup>112</sup> CIL III 7800 = IDR III 5.522.

<sup>113</sup> G. Alföldy, *Beitr. Namenforsch.* 15, 1964, 55–104, esp. 94 (cf. *ibid.* 70 and 78), *id.*, *Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatia* (Heidelberg 1969) 185 (the name Dasas is »besonders für die pannonischen Stämme und den Stamm der Delmatae charakteristisch«), 289 (about Scenobarbus); I. I. Russu in: N. Duval / D. Briquel / M. Hamiaux (eds.), *L'onomastique latine* (Paris 1977) 353–363, esp. 359.

<sup>114</sup> Piso ad IDR III 5.522: »On ne doit pas déduire des l. 2–4 que Dasa Scenobarbi aurait été transféré du numerus singularium dans l'ala Batauorum, mais que, en tant que cavalier de l'ala Batauorum, il fut temporairement choisi pour la garde du gouverneur«. Cf. Speidel, *Guards* 7 f.: »After service in the guard for an undetermined length of time – generally, it seems, for more than three years – the men returned to their own units unless they were promoted to a higher position in another unit or discharged. Unlike the Emperor's singulares, the provincial singulares continued to belong to an auxiliary unit and to be carried in its rosters. This is the reason why they do not figure as separate units in the military diplomas, and why they mention auxiliary units so often in

their inscriptions«. See for Dasa(s) Scenobarbi further Speidel, *Guards* 89 f.; R. Varga, *The Peregrini of Roman Dacia (Cluj-Napoca 2014)* 127 no. 218. We find Bersius Ingenus, heir to the deceased Dasa(s) Scenobarbi, also on IDR III 5.312: »Regin[ae] Bersiu[s In]genu(u)s [3] v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)«. According to G. Cupcea, *Professional Ranks in the Roman Army of Dacia* (Oxford 2014) 56 with note 390 and 59 he, like Dasa(s), belonged to the ala Batavorum (which seems doubtful).

<sup>115</sup> CIL III 1193 = ILS 2746 = IDR III 5.542.

<sup>116</sup> So Birley, *Alae* 57 = 353 and PME I 49. But cf. Piso ad IDR III 5.542: »Comme l'ethnique de l'aile n'est pas mentionnée, il est également possible que l'on ait conféré à Corinthianus l'honos quartae militiae, mais non le commandement effectif d'une aile miliare«. Date: A. D. 193–217 (EDH 038947).

<sup>117</sup> CIL III 5331 = ILS 2734 = IDRE II 248. Cf. PME A 191; R. Wedenig, *Epigraphische Quellen zur städtischen Administration in Noricum* (Klagenfurt 1997) 207 f.; E. Pochmarski, *Schild von Steier* 20, 2007, 269–291, esp. 273; I. Weber-Hiden in: B. Porod (ed.), *Flavia Solva. Ein Lesebuch* (Graz 2010) 28–33, esp. 29 f. Date: A. D. 171–200 (EDH 037971), but cf. C. C. Petolescu, *Dacia* 58, 2014, 293–302, esp. 296: (La carrière de Tutor) »serait datée durant la première décennie du règne d'Antonin le Pieux, avec, notamment, la troisième militia dans les années 144–146 et la quarta militia [i. e. the prefecture of the ala I Batavorum] durant les années suivantes«. According to D. Dana / C. Gaiu, *Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr.* 197, 2016, 263, the fourth militia can now be dated to ca. 155. The Aurelius Valentinus of CIL III 886, who dedicated a monument to Jupiter Optimus Maximus found in Potaissa in Dacia (Turda in Romania), perhaps was a colleague of the prefects just



We can also add to the evidence of diplomas that of tiles with stamps, which may indicate the precise station within a province of a certain unit, as the following example shows. At Războieni-Cetate, some fifty kilometers north of Alba Iulia, vestiges of an Roman army camp have been discovered. The name of the unit which was stationed there can be deduced from tiles with stamps like »A P B«, »A B«, »Al I B«, »Bat«: the ala I Batavorum<sup>118</sup>. Similar stamps are known from other Dacian find-spots not far from Războieni-Cetate, at Ocna Mureș<sup>119</sup>, Noșlac<sup>120</sup>, and Mureș Cristești<sup>121</sup>. Interestingly, Războieni-Cetate may have been the birthplace of a soldier, Ael(ius) Verecundinus, who at the end of a career of twenty-one years was centurio of the legio IV Scythica. His gravestone was found in Apamea in Syria<sup>122</sup>. Verecundinus was »natus in Dacia ad Vatabos«. Presumably, »ad Vatabos«, nowhere else attested, is an error caused by the not infrequent interchange of the consonants »b« and »v«. If this is correct, the soldier was born in Dacia »ad Batavos« which is near an army camp of Batavians, either the cohors I Batavorum milliaria in Dacia Porolissensis or the ala I Batavorum milliaria in Dacia Superior (i. e. in Războieni-Cetate)<sup>123</sup>.

mentioned (PME A 258 »fortasse praefectus equitum alae I Batavorum milliariae«), but the inscription (A. D. 171–270, EDH 048980) only says that he was a praefectus equitum. For another Aurelius Valentinus, τριβούνοϛ βαταόνων (IG X 2, 1, 151) and therefore possibly tribune of the ala I Batavorum milliaria, see note 50 above.

<sup>118</sup> IDR III 4.78, 79a–b, 80, 81. Cf. N. Gudea, *Jahrb. RGZM* 44/2, 1997, \*1–\*113, esp. \*105 f.; Haalebos, *Nederlanders* 199; L. Ruscu et al., *Apulum* 41, 2004, 291–300; Popovici/Varga, *Ad Vatabos*. The suggestion of D. W. Wade, *The Roman Auxiliary Units and Camps in Dacia* (Diss. University of North Carolina 1970) 22, 265 f., is seemingly attractive, that the men mentioned on CIL III 933 (= IDR III 4.72), »Apollini / Atilius Celsianus dec(urio) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito) / Apollini«, and on CIL III 934 (= IDR III 4.75), »Se[da]tus v Se[rva]tus(?)« may have served in the ala Batavorum because the inscriptions were found in Războieni-Cetate. However, even if Wade is right in assuming that the dec(urio) of CIL III 933 was a soldier and not a civic councillor, as EDH 044928 assumes (»Dekurionenstand, höhere Gemeindeverwaltung«), and that in CIL III 934 »v(eteranus)« should be read and not »v(ixit)« (EDCS), his conclusion, that Celsianus and Sedatus had served in the ala Batavorum, is not convincing, for in Războieni-Cetate other units are epigraphically attested as well, legio XIII Gemina (e. g. CIL III 6282), legio V Macedonica (CIL III 935), cohors II Numidarum (CIL III

8074, 22b). The same holds good for the proposal of Cupcea, Ranks (note 114) 56; 59, who, apart from CIL III 933 (= IDR III 4.72), points to CIL III 933a (= IDR III 4.68) from Salinae, ILD 511 and CIL III 12546, both from Potaissa. No mention is made in any of these inscriptions of the ala Batavorum. In the case of a fragmentary inscription (CIL III 7696 = ILD 515) from Potaissa, which, according to Wade (this note) 22 note 45, »seems to mention a veteran of this unit«, probably the ala Bosporanorum is meant.

<sup>119</sup> CIL III 8074, 2.

<sup>120</sup> IDR III 4.82.

<sup>121</sup> IDR III 4.152, 152, 1, 152, 2. Mureș Cristești is also the find-spot of the diploma already mentioned (nn. 109 and 110), CIL XVI 108. For a Pannonian counterpart of these tile stamps see CIL III 4666. »According to Spaul the stamp AIB (CIL III 11372) attests the unit's presence in Dacia Superior at Pusztas Almas, but it must be read ala I Bosporanorum and the finding place is Naszály-Almápusztas (Odiavum) in Pannonia«, O. Tentea / F. Matei-Popescu, *Acta Mus. Napocensis* 39–40/1, 2002/03, 259–296, esp. 262.

<sup>122</sup> *Année Épigr.* 1993 no. 1577 = IDRE II 411. Cf. J.-Ch. Balty / W. Van Rengen, *Apamea in Syria. The Winter Quarters of Legio II Parthica. Roman Gravestones from the Military Cemetery* (Brussels 1993) 29.

<sup>123</sup> Petolescu ad IDRE II 411 mentions both options, but makes no choice; D. Dana, *Ant. Class.* 77, 2008, 219–225, esp. 221 as well as Popovici/Varga, *Ad Vatabos opt* for Războieni-Cetate.

Finally, a votive stone from Războieni-Cetate, found in 1979 and dedicated to the Lower Rhine deity Hercules Magusanus, should most probably be associated with the ala I Batavorum, even if the unit's name is not explicitly mentioned<sup>124</sup>. Assuming that the dedicator is perhaps not of Batavian origin, the worship of one of the civic gods of the Batavians may be taken as a sign of the unit's strong religious traditions<sup>125</sup>, which persisted after soldiers from other backgrounds had joined the ala.

### Batavi serving in alae other than the ala Batavorum

One Batavus who served in an ala other than the ala I Batavorum we already met: Iulius Civilis' nephew Iulius Briganticus, who in the Year of the Four Emperors was commander of the ala singularium according to Tacitus: »accessit ala singularium, excita olim a Vitellio, deinde in partes Vespasiani transgressa. praeerat Iulius Briganticus sorore Civilis genitus«<sup>126</sup>. A short digression on the name and the history of this ala seems justified, in view of the fact that it has been suggested that originally most of the soldiers of the ala singularium were Batavians; we know of one Batavian soldier who served in it in the second century.

The designation »singularium« of Briganticus' unit no doubt refers to the fact that it was originally made up of (equites) singulares, that is, of troopers who were selected one by one (hence the name) from the auxilia in the provinces, and served as elite units of their commanders and provincial governors<sup>127</sup>. Parts of these singulares could be transformed into new units<sup>128</sup>; apart from the ala commanded by Briganticus there existed for example the ala I Ulpia singularium<sup>129</sup> and the ala praetoria singularium<sup>130</sup>.

When precisely the ala singularium was founded, is disputed. Tacitus' words »excita olim a Vitellio« in Hist. 4, 70, 2 have been taken to mean: »originally [...] formed by Vitellius«<sup>131</sup>,

<sup>124</sup> V. Moga in: Omaggio a Dinu Adamesteanu (Cluj-Napoca 1996) 183–185, esp. 184 f., Haalebos, Nederlanders 201 f. with note 27 on p. 209, Popovici/Varga, Ad Vatabos 101–103, with pl. 11 on p. 100 and a tentative transcription on p. 101: »Hercu/li Mac/usan(o) / [...] L. M(...) / Adrian(us)«. The reading of line 4 is problematic. Popovici and Varga take the final two letters as abbreviations of the dedicator's praenomen and nomen: »L. M(...)«. If this is correct, one would expect after the deity's name a word like sacrum, but this cannot be verified on the photograph. A full description of the monument is in preparation by Rada Varga.

<sup>125</sup> See for Hercules Magusanus as god of the Batavians above, note 70 and note 79.

<sup>126</sup> Tac. Hist. 4, 70, 2; cf. nn. 22–23 above.

<sup>127</sup> Cf. W. Sprey, Tacitus over de opstand der Bataven. Hist. IV 12–37, 54–79. V 14–26 (Groningen 1953) 85; Speidel, Guards 1–15.

<sup>128</sup> Speidel, Guards 5: »Guards of singulares existed from the beginning of the Empire. This can be reasonably inferred from the name of an ala singularium in A. D. 69/70, raised from a guard of singulares during the Julio-Claudian period«.

<sup>129</sup> E. g. CIL X 6426. Cf. Speidel, Guards 63.

<sup>130</sup> E. g. RMD 1.3, 1.4, 5.329, 5.330 and 5.331; Année Épigr. 2005 no. 1723; Année Épigr. 2008 no. 1740; Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr. 203, 2017, 258. Pace Speidel, Guards 60–63, it seems better not to equate the ala praetoria singularium with the ala praetoria alone, without the addition of singularium (for this ala praetoria see e. g. IK 53 no. 34, Année Épigr. 2004 no. 1923, RMD 4.272 and Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr. 203 [2017] 254). Cf. M. M. Roxan, Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr. 127, 1999, 249–273, esp. 259 note 66: »It is extremely unlikely that the ala praetoria singularium of Syria (RMD I 3 and 4) should now be equated with the ala (sc. praetoria) of Pannonia inferior«, and W. Eck / A. Pangerl, Chiron 35, 2005, 49–67, esp. 58: »Deshalb scheint es fast sicher, daß es zwei Einheiten dieses Namens (sc. ala praetoria) gegeben hat«.

<sup>131</sup> Translation C. H. Moore, Tacitus, the Histories, with an English Translation, two vols. (London 1931); cf. the translation of V. Hunink, Tacitus. Historiën (Amsterdam 2010): »oort in het leven geroepen door Vitellius«. For the combination »olim [...] dein(de)« cf. Tac. Ann. 1, 16, 3; 12, 18, 1 and ThLL IX 2.561.25–26.



that is, formed by Vitellius as governor of Germania (Inferior)<sup>132</sup>. This is not implausible. Before he was acclaimed emperor on January 2, A. D. 69, Vitellius was governor of Germania (Inferior) from December 1, A. D. 68 onwards<sup>133</sup>, and in this capacity may have formed a new ala out of his provincial army and his guard. This interpretation has led to the inference that most of the soldiers of the new ala singularium were Batavians<sup>134</sup>. However, another translation of Tacitus' words, viz. 'called up by Vitellius some time before (sc. from the place where it was stationed)', is equally possible. It is, in view of Tacitus' usage, perhaps even preferable<sup>135</sup>. If indeed the ala singularium was summoned in A. D. 69 from its garrison place (for which see note 137), this would imply, that the unit had already existed before Vitellius' governorship. If so, when was it founded? In the time of Tiberius, according to one scholar (Geza Alföldy)<sup>136</sup>, still earlier, viz. in the time of Augustus, according to another (Michael P. Speidel)<sup>137</sup>.

Tacitus in *Historiae* 4, 70, 2 not only says about Briganticus' unit: »excita olim a Vitellio«, he also reports, that the ala singularium went over to Vespasian's side (»deinde in partes Vespasiani transgressa«). Its defection probably earned the unit the title »Flavia«<sup>138</sup>, which we find on military diplomas for Raetia of A. D. 125–128: »I Fl(avia) sing(ularium)

<sup>132</sup> Bogaers, Gallo-Romeinse tempels 190: »door Vitellius als stadhouder van Germania Inferior geformeerd«. N. B. The formal designation as Germania Inferior and Germania Superior did not come until the reign of Domitian. Cf. e. g. W. Eck, Köln in römischer Zeit. Geschichte einer Stadt im Rahmen des Imperium Romanum (Cologne 2004) 214–218; M. Polak / L. I. Kooistra, Jahrb. RGZM 60/2, 2013, 355–458, esp. 356 note 3, 446 f., and G. Raepsaet, Ant. Class. 82, 2013, 111–148, esp. 129 f. 144.

<sup>133</sup> Suet. Vit. 7; cf. PIR<sup>2</sup> V 740; D. Kienast / W. Eck / M. Heil, Römische Kaisertabelle. Grundzüge einer römischen Kaiserchronologie (sixth edition, Darmstadt 2017) 99.

<sup>134</sup> Bogaers, Gallo-Romeinse tempels 190 assumes that Briganticus' ala »zeer waarschijnlijk vooral uit Bataven heeft bestaan«.

<sup>135</sup> Cf. Speidel, Guards 58: »called up from its regular garrison place« and Publius Cornelius Tacitus Historiën<sup>2</sup>, in de vertaling van J. W. Meijer (Haarlem 1967) ad loc.: »eertijds door Vitellius opgeroepen«. For Tacitus' usage see Hist. 1, 9, 3, »quies et Illyrico, quamquam excita a Nerone legiones« and 1, 70, 1 (about troops of the ala Siliana who had served under Vitellius in Africa), »mox a Nerone, ut in Aegyptum praemitterentur, exciti«.

<sup>136</sup> Alföldy, Hilfstruppen 31: »dass sowohl die ala praetoria singularium als auch die andere ala singularium [...] etwa in der Zeit des Tiberius, gegründet wurde«. Alföldy ibid. assumes that Briganticus' ala consisted of ethnic Batavians: »Die Mitglieder der Aristokratie der germanischen und keltischen Stämme Niedergermaniens und der Belgica befehligten bis zum Bataveraufstand lokale nationale Hilfstruppen«.

<sup>137</sup> Speidel, Guards 56–59. It is usually thought that Vitellius summoned the ala singularium from Germany in A. D. 69. So e. g. E. Wolff / G. Andresen, Publii Cornelii Taciti Historiarum libri qui supersunt II (second edition, Berlin 1926) and K. and W. Heraeus, Cornelii Taciti Historiarum libri qui supersunt 2. Buch III–V (fourth edition, Leipzig 1927, reprinted Amsterdam 1966) in their commentaries ad loc., and Alföldy, Hilfstruppen 31–33. Speidel is of another opinion (although he admits that »it cannot be excluded that the ala had been stationed in Germany and was summoned by Vitellius from there«, p. 59). He suggests that the ala was called up from Spain, where its regular garrison place might have been the civitas Igaeditanorum in Lusitania (modern Idanha-a-Vella in Portugal), from where Marcus Avitus hailed, prefect of the ala I singularium civium Romanorum, as well as the decurion Marcus Maternus of the same unit (Année Épigr. 1967 no. 145; cf. Année Épigr. 1961 no. 359). If so, he continues, the ala must already have been formed during the Cantabrian war in the time of Augustus. It was then the only ala known to bear the title civium Romanorum during the Julio-Claudian epoch, and its original cadre must have been Augustus' equites singulares (»among singulares only the Emperor's own guard possessed citizenship in a body«, p. 58). When Vitellius called upon these Lusitanian soldiers in A. D. 69 to help him against Vespasian (»excita olim a Vitellio«), they did come, although slowly (cf. Tac. Hist. 2, 97, 1: »auxilia tamen e Germania Britanniae et Hispaniis excivit [...] neque ex Hispaniis properabatur«).

<sup>138</sup> Alföldy, Hilfstruppen 33.

c(ivium) R(omanorum) p(ia) f(idelis)«<sup>139</sup>, and of A. D. 166: »I Fl(avia) sing(ularium)«<sup>140</sup>, as well as on the gravestone of Titus Flavius Paternus, Batav(us), bricked into the eastern outer wall of Saint Martin's church in Bavarian Egweil: »vet(eranus) al(ae) I Fl[av]iae s(ingularium)«<sup>141</sup>. The title »Flavia« is lacking, as far as we know, in all other documents we have of the ala singularium. Instead, there are several sources which indicate that the unit was titled »civium Romanorum«<sup>142</sup> or »civium Romanorum pia fidelis«<sup>143</sup>.

Iulius Briganticus died in A. D. 70. Tacitus reports: »Vadam Civilis, Grinnes Classicus obpugnabant; nec sisti poterant interfecto fortissimo quoque, in quis Briganticus praefectus alae ceciderat«<sup>144</sup>. One of Briganticus' successors was Gaius Minucius Italus. On a honorific inscription from Aquileia we read inter alia that this man was a prefect of the ala under discussion: »praefecto eq(uitum) alae I sing(ularium) c(ivium) R(omanorum)«, and had received decorations from Vespasian: »donis donat(o) a divo Vespasiano coron(a) aurea hast(a) pur(a)«<sup>145</sup>. Another prefect of the ala singularium known by name was Lucius Marcius Avitus: »praef(ecto) eq(uitum) alae I sing(ularium) c(ivium) R(omanorum)«; the time of his service is uncertain<sup>146</sup>.

When Briganticus died in A. D. 70 he and the ala singularium were near Vada, presumably Heerwaarden in the Netherlands, that is, in Germania (Inferior). It stayed there<sup>147</sup> until at least A. D. 78. In A. D. 90 we find the ala in Germania Superior<sup>148</sup>, while

<sup>139</sup> RMD 1.32.

<sup>140</sup> CIL XVI 121.

<sup>141</sup> F. Wagner, Ber. RGK 37/38, 1956/1957 (note 5) 234 no. 72. Cf. H. C. Teitler, *Hermeneus* 86, 2014, 3–7. The numeral I (Prima) is intriguing (cf. note 103 for a similar case). A second ala singularium is not attested anywhere. In CIL III 5822 = ILS 2526 from Augusta Vindelicorum (Augsburg) the correct reading must be sing(ularis), not sing(ularium): »D(is) M(anibus) / Victorini / Longini eq(uitis) a(lae) II Fl(aviae), sing(ularis). Cl(audius) Latinus / aedituus sing(ularium) h(eres) f(aciundum) c(uravit)«. »The reading al(ae) II Fl(aviae) sing(ularium) is untenable: there was no such ala« (Speidel, *Guards* 78). In other words, Victorin(i)us had served with ala II Flavia (for which cf. e. g. RMD 3.155; *Année Épigr.* 2005 no. 1149) before he became a member of the guard, the singulares, of the Raetian governor in the Raetian capital Augusta Vindelicorum.

<sup>142</sup> *Année Épigr.* 1967 no. 145; *Année Épigr.* 2005 no. 1150; CIL V 875 = ILS 1374, CIL XVI 94, XVI 117, XVI 183; RMD 1.32, 1.68, 2.94, 3.170, 4.262, 5.386; RMM 38.

<sup>143</sup> *Année Épigr.* 2005 no. 1153; CIL XVI 55; RMD 1.25 (cf. RMD 3, p. 244), 1.32, 3.155, 4.229. Cf. Alföldy, *Hilfstruppen* 33: »Auch der Beiname civium Romanorum wurde der Truppe im Jahre 69 oder gleich nach dem Bataverkrieg erteilt«, but see for Speidel's contrasting view note 137. For pia fidelis see above with note 100.

<sup>144</sup> Tac. Hist. 5, 21, 1.

<sup>145</sup> CIL V 875 = ILS 1374. Cf. PME M 60.

<sup>146</sup> *Année Épigr.* 1967 no. 145, cf. *Année Épigr.* 1961 no. 359. PME M 26 rejects the date proposed in *Année Épigr.* 1967 no. 145, viz. ca. a. 41–69, hesitantly suggests the second half of the first century, but does not rule out the second century (»E. Birley nobis proposuit«). According to E. Dabrowa, *Legio X Fretensis. A Prosopographical Study of its Officers (I–III c. A. D.)* (Stuttgart 1993) 66, »the inscription on his (sc. Avitus') tomb was made at least in the first months of Vespasian's reign, i. e. in the period of the turn of A. D. 69 and 70«. While Italus was born in Aquileia (PME M 60), the discovery of Avitus' honorary inscription in the civitas Igaeditanorum suggests that he originated from this Lusitanian community; cf. F. Des Boscs-Plateaux, *Un parti hispanique à Rome? Ascension des élites hispaniques et pouvoir politique d'Auguste à Hadrien* (27 av. J.-C.–138 ap. J.-C.) (Madrid 2005) 645.

<sup>147</sup> CIL XVI 23 = ILS 9052. Cf. Alföldy, *Hilfstruppen* 164; Derks/Roymans, *Auxiliary Veterans* 127 f.; and Eck/Pangerl, *Diplomata militaria* 181.

<sup>148</sup> CIL XVI 36 = ILS 1998 and RMD 5.333. Cf. *Année Épigr.* 2004 no. 1910, where the restoration I singularium is certain. Pace Holder, *Exercitus* 240, CIL XVI 62 for A. D. 117 is not relevant.

it was transferred to Raetia<sup>149</sup> before A. D. 107, remaining in this province until at least A. D. 167/168, as several military diplomas show<sup>150</sup>.

Also stationed in Raetia was Titus Flavius Romanus, »dec(urio) al[ae] Ī Flaviae« (and praepositus of some other regiment of which the name is lost); his origin on the fragment of a dedicatory inscription is given as Ulpia Noviomagi (Nijmegen) Batav(u)s<sup>151</sup>; the inscription was found in Pfünz in 1857.

We know of two Batavians who served in an ala Hispanorum, presumably the ala I Hispanorum: Imerix, son of Servofredus, »Batavos, eq(ues)«, whose gravestone<sup>152</sup>, was found in Burnum in Dalmatia (Ivoševci in Croatia) in 1924 and »[.]aloger[.]« (?Malogerus), domo Betav(us), [du]p[l(icarius)]«, whose gravestone<sup>153</sup> was found in Pannonian Aquincum (Budapest) in 1832. A third Batavian can now be added to these two. A fragmentary inscription from the Archaeological Museum Zadar (Croatia) reads: »[---]us / [---]uri f(ilius) equ[es] / [---] Batav(u)s [---]«<sup>154</sup>. Since the stone with the inscription probably stems from Burnum, like the gravestone of Imerix just mentioned, the editors plausibly suggest that this Batavian horseman also belonged to the ala Hispanorum: »[---]us / [---]uri f(ilius) equ[es] / [ala(e) Hisp(anorum)] Batav(u)s [---]«<sup>155</sup>.

<sup>149</sup> CIL XVI 55.

<sup>150</sup> An asterisk means that on the following diplomas the name of the ala singularium is missing or its titles are so fragmentary that they can hardly be recognized; they are partly or wholly restored by analogy with (more) complete documents: RMD 2.85\* (a. 112); Année Épigr. 2011 no. 1803 (a. 114/133); RMD 3.155 (a. 116), 4.229 (a. 116), 1.25, cf. 3, p. 244 (a. 122/124), 1.32\* (a. 125/128); Année Épigr. 2005 no. 1149\* (a. 128/133), 2005 no. 1153 (a. 128/133), 2000 no. 1138\* (a. 129), RMD 4.243\* (a. 129), 2.94 (a. 138/140); RMD 4.261 (a. 139), 5.386 (a. 139); Année Épigr. 2014 no. 971\* (a. 139), RMD 1.59\* (a. 139/141), 5.387\* (a. 140), 3.166\* (a. 140/147); CIL XVI 94\* (a. 147); RMD 1.51/2.104 (a. 151–170); CIL XVI 117 (a. 153/157); RMD 3.175 (a. 154/161); CIL XVI 117 (a. 154/161), 16.183 (a. 156); Année Épigr. 2014 no. 975\* (a. 156); RMD 2.51/104 (a. 156/157); CIL XVI 183 (a. 156/157); RMD 3.170 (a. 157), 4.275\* (a. 157); RMM 38 (a. 157); RMD 5.434\* (a. 157–161); Année Épigr. 2005 no. 1153 (a. 159/160); Bayer. Vorgeschbl. 2016.147 (a. 160); RMD 3.112/178 (a. 161/163); CIL XVI 118\* (a. 162), 16.121 (a. 166); RMD 1.68 (a. 167/168).

<sup>151</sup> CIL III 5918b = 11936. Derks, Ethnic Identity 278 no. B 31 (date: 98–180); Bogaers, Bataven en Canninefaten 278–281 (drawing on p. 278). In note 105 on p. 279 Bogaers argues that Romanus belonged to the ala I Flavia Gemelliana (and not the ala I Flavia civium Romanorum), which was

stationed in Kösching, some 20 km south-east of Pfünz, where the cohorts I Breucorum had its station; he suggests that Romanus may have been praepositus of this cohort.

<sup>152</sup> Année Épigr. 1971 no. 299 = Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia repertae et editae sunt (Ljubljana 1963–1986) 2.843. Derks, Ethnic Identity 277 no. B 5 (date: ca. 50). For the history of the ala I Hispanorum, see J. E. A. Th. Bogaers, Numaga 13, 1966, 161–181, esp. 169–179; J. E. H. Spaul, Ala<sup>2</sup>. The Auxiliary Cavalry Units of the Pre-Diocletianic Imperial Roman Army (Andover 1994) 144 f. with the critical comments by Tentea/Matei-Popescu, Acta Napocensis (note 121) 268; B. Lörincz, Acta Class. Univ. Scien. Debreceniensis 33, 1997, 229–240, esp. 230. Under Claudius the unit was moved from Germania (Superior) to Illyria (Burnum) and a little later to Pannonia (Aquincum); in the late first and early second century it served in Moesia (diplomas from A. D. 92, 97 and 105) and subsequently in Dacia.

<sup>153</sup> CIL III 3577 = CIL III 3681 = CIL III 10513 = TitAq 2.860. Derks, Ethnic Identity 277 no. B 6 (date: ca. 50); Lörincz, Hilfstruppen Pannonien I 196 no. 127 (date: middle of the first century).

<sup>154</sup> Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr. 199, 2016, 235.

<sup>155</sup> N. Cesarik / D. Štrmelj, Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr. 199, 2016, 234–236.

From Aquincum stems an inscription, found in 1934, in memory of Flav(us), son of Blandus, »domo Batav[(v)us] eques al(ae) Fronto[n]iana«<sup>156</sup>. Gaius Petillius Vindex served in the same ala Frontoniana as decurio, as we know from a military diploma, dated July 2, 110, which was found in Tokod in Hungary in 1947: »dimisso honesta missione ex decurione C(aio) Petillio C(ai) f(ilio) Vindici Batav(o)«<sup>157</sup>. It is not certain where in Pannonia the gravestone of Albanus, son of Balvus, »domo Betavos«, was found; he served as a dec(urio) in the ala Augusta Ituraeorum. Some scholars opt for Brigetio (Szöny), others for Arrabona (Györ). The latter seems more likely, since Arrabona was from the late eighties the ala's station (the unit was later transferred to Intercisa). Albanus' gravestone, already known in the sixteenth century, is now in the collection of the Antikensammlung in Vienna<sup>158</sup>.

In the section on Legionaries and praetorians we have met Celerinius Fidelis, civis Batavus, miles in the legio XXX Ulpia Victrix. His brother Celerinius Augendus together with Fidelis' wife Maturia Pia set up his gravestone with inscription<sup>159</sup>, which was found in Lyon before 1808. Presumably, this Celerinius Augendus, called »vir a mil[li]itiis« on his brother's gravestone, is to be identified with the »prae(ectus) e-q[ui]t[um] a(lae) Pann(oniorum) Seve(rianae) M. Celerinius Augendus«, who dedicated an altar to the dii Campestris which was found in 1947 at the Sahara frontier fort of Gemellae (Mlili) in Numidia<sup>160</sup>.

<sup>156</sup> Année Épigr. 1938 no. 125 = TitAq 2.956. Derks, Ethnic Identity 278 no. B 18 (date: 73–80); Lörincz, Hilfstruppen Pannonien I, 222 no. 210 (date: »frühflavisch«). Cf. A. W. Byvanck, Mnemosyne 6, 1938, 222–224. In former times the ala (I Tungrorum) Frontoniana had had its base in Asciburgium (Asberg) in Germania Inferior. Cf. e. g. A. Oxé, Bonner Jahrb. 135, 1930, 62–73; T. Bechert, Die Römer in Asciburgium (Duisburg 1989) 117–121. Cf. for the history of the ala further D. Protase in: Römische Geschichte, Altertumskunde und Epigraphik. Festschrift für Artur Betz zur Vollendung seines 80. Lebensjahres (Vienna 1985) 495–504; B. Lörincz / S. Petény, Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr. 101, 1994, 197–204; D. B. Saddington, Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr. 138, 2002, 273 f.

<sup>157</sup> CIL XVI 164. Derks, Ethnic Identity 278 no. B 27; Lörincz, Hilfstruppen Pannonien I, 157 no. 13.

<sup>158</sup> CIL III 4368 = L. Barkóczi / A. Mócsy et al., Die römischen Inschriften Ungarns (Budapest 1972–2001) 635. Derks, Ethnic Identity 278 no. B 17 (date: 70–96). Lörincz, Hilfstruppen Pannonien I, 201 no. 143 (date: 80–90). Cf. for the stone W. Kubitschek, Jahrb. Altkde. 6, 1912, 103–147, esp. 129 (»ist im Wiener Hofmuseum seit dem Jahr 1840«); R. Noll,

Die griechischen und lateinischen Inschriften der Wiener Antikensammlung (second edition, Vienna 1986) 1.374 (»1849 erworben«, sc. for the Wiener Antikensammlung). For a picture see ad Barkóczi/Mócsy (this note) 635 and Derks, Ethnic Identity 258 fig. 6. The latter not only provides a picture of the stone, but also of a drawing in a manuscript of the 16th century: »The stele's gable, with the deceased's portrait, now lost, is known from a drawing by Bartholomaeus Jupp in a manuscript from AD 1588 which is kept in the library of the University of Leiden [...]; drawing after Voss. Lat. O. 65, folia 49r, University of Leiden«. For the ala Augusta Ituraeorum see Lörincz, Hilfstruppen Pannonien I, 21 f.; Haynes, Roman Auxilia 139.

<sup>159</sup> CIL XIII 1847 = ILS 2389 = Reuter, Legio XXX (note 76) 71.

<sup>160</sup> Libyca 3 [1955] 156. Derks, Ethnic Identity 280 no. B 67 (date: 222–235). PME C 104. PG 247 E 190. Cf. M. P. Speidel, Ant. Africaines 27, 1991, 111–118, esp. 117, reprinted in id., Roman Army Studies II (Stuttgart 1992) 290–297: »He [...] must have begun his career as a common soldier« and »Celerinius Augendus may have been a former horseman of the equites singulares Augusti«. Bérard, Hommages Le Bohec (note 76); id., Lyon (note 75) 524–526.

In Hemmen in the Netherlands, some twenty-five kilometres north-west of Nijmegen, »Sim[p]licius Super, dec(urio) alae Vocontior(um) exerci[t]us Britannici«, dedicated an altar to the goddess Vagdavercustis<sup>161</sup>. It has been suggested that this decurio was a Batavian<sup>162</sup>. In Dodewaard, not far from Hemmen, the gravestone of »M(arcus) Traianus Gumattius Gaisionis f(ilius) vet(eranus) alae Afror(um)« was found<sup>163</sup>. He, too, is sometimes regarded as »a Batavian, to judge by his name«<sup>164</sup>.

## Epilogue

So much for the first part of our inventory of the sources concerning Batavi in the imperial Roman army (to be continued in the near future with a survey of what we know about cohortes and numeri exploratorum). Throughout our article we aimed to integrate literary and epigraphical material. We hope to have shown that especially the latter category of evidence is of the utmost importance, and that it would be imprudent to neglect it.

Dr. Ton Derks, Faculteit Geesteswetenschappen, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, De Boelelaan 1105, 1081 HV Amsterdam, The Netherlands, a.m.j.derks@vu.nl. – Dr. Hans Teitler, Loosdrechtse Bos 36, 1213 ZA Hilversum, The Netherlands, hansteitler@yahoo.de.

<sup>161</sup> CIL XIII 8805 = ILS 2536.

<sup>162</sup> J. E. A. Th. Bogaers in: *Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms* (Cologne and Graz 1967) 54–76, esp. 67 f., when discussing this inscription, only says that the man came »aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach aus dem Gebiet des Niederrheins«, but Alföldy, *Hilfstruppen* 41 states: »Der decurio Simplicius Super stammte aus Niedergermanien und war wahrscheinlich ein Bataver«, and *ibid.*, 191 f. no. 81 (date: »etwa vom Anfang der hadrianischen Zeit«). Cf. Roselaar, *State-Organised Mobility* 153: »Sim[p]licius Super [...] was perhaps also a Batavian«. See for a similar suggestion, this time regarding a votive altar with inscription (CIL XIII 12057 = ILS 9000) dedicated to the goddess Vagdavercustis by the praefectus praetorio Titus Flavius Constans (PIR<sup>2</sup> F 247), H. Schmitz, *Germania* 24, 1940, 255–266, esp.

263: »so erklären sich die oben gekennzeichneten Besonderheiten [...] am einfachsten, wenn wir germanische, d. h. batavische Abstammung dieses Mannes annehmen« and RE VII A (1948) 2072–2073 s. v. Vagdavercustis (id.). This hypothesis is rejected by W. Eck in: *Grabung – Forschung – Präsentation. Festschrift Gundolf Precht* (Mainz 2002) 37–42, esp. 40 note 19: »Schmitz [...] hatte gemeint, Flavius Constans sei Bataver gewesen. Doch kann er das Faktum, dass die Weihung in Köln erfolgte, auf diese Weise nicht erklären«.

<sup>163</sup> CIL XIII 8806.

<sup>164</sup> Roselaar, *State-Organised Mobility* 154 (who wrongly speaks of a diploma; her statement in note 60 »One other diploma for a Batavian was found here [meaning Kalkar], CIL 16, 59« is puzzling). A picture of CIL XIII 8806 can be found in Willems/Enckevort, *Nijmegen* 184 fig. 73.



## Abbreviations

AIIRoma	A. Ferrua, <i>Antiche iscrizioni inedite di Roma</i> . Epigraphica 1, 1939 ff.
Alföldy, Hilfstruppen	G. Alföldy, <i>Die Hilfstruppen der römischen Provinz Germania inferior</i> (Düsseldorf 1968).
Bellen, Leibwache	H. Bellen, <i>Die germanische Leibwache der römischen Kaiser des julisch-claudischen Hauses</i> (Wiesbaden 1981).
Birley, Alae	E. Birley, <i>Alae and cohortes milliariae</i> . In: <i>Corolla memoriae Erich Swoboda dedicata</i> (Graz 1966) 54–67, reprinted in id., <i>The Roman Army. Papers 1929–1986</i> (Amsterdam 1988) 349–364.
Bogaers, Bataven en Canninefaten	J. E. A. Th. Bogaers, <i>Civitas en stad van de Bataven en Canninefaten</i> . Ber. ROB 10/11, 1960/1961, 263–317.
Bogaers, Gallo-Romeinse tempels	J. E. A. Th. Bogaers, <i>De Gallo-Romeinse tempels te Elst in de Over-Betuwe</i> (The Hague 1955).
Cosme, Préfets bataves	P. Cosme, <i>Les préfets bataves d’ailes et de cohortes en Gaule et en Bretagne sous les Julio-Claudiens</i> . Hypothèses sur l’itinéraire de Julius Civilis. In: F. Chausson (ed.), <i>Occidents romains. Sénateurs, chevaliers, militaires, notables dans les provinces d’Occident (Espagnes, Gaules, Germanies, Bretagne)</i> (Paris 2010) 113–135.
Derks, Ethnic Identity	T. Derks, <i>Ethnic Identity in the Roman Frontier. The Epigraphy of Batavi and other Lower Rhine Tribes</i> . In: T. Derks/N. Roymans (eds.), <i>Ethnic Constructs in Antiquity. The Role of Power and Tradition</i> (Amsterdam 2009) 239–282.
Derks/Roymans, Auxiliary Veterans	T. Derks / N. Roymans, <i>Returning Auxiliary Veterans. Some Methodological Considerations</i> . <i>Journal Roman Arch.</i> 19, 2006, 121–135.
Eck/Pangerl, Diplomata militaria	W. Eck / A. Pangerl, <i>Beobachtungen zu den diplomata militaria für die Provinz Germania Inferior</i> . In: F. Naumann-Steckner / B. Paffgen / R. Thomas (eds.), <i>Zwischen Orient und Okzident. Festschrift für Hansgerd Hellenkemper (= Kölner Jahrb. 43)</i> (Berlin 2010) 181–195.
Eck, Auxiliareinheiten	W. Eck, <i>Die Entwicklung der Auxiliareinheiten als Teil des römischen Heeres in der frühen und hohen Kaiserzeit. Eine Teilsynthese</i> . In: C. Wolff / P. Faure (eds.), <i>Les auxiliaires de l’armée romaine. Des alliés aux fédérés</i> (Paris and Lyon 2016) 111–126.
EDCS	Epigraphische Datenbank Clauss/Slaby.
EDH	Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg.
Haalebos, Nederlanders	J. K. Haalebos, <i>Nederlanders in Roemenië</i> . <i>Westerheem</i> 48, 1999, 197–210.

- Haynes, Roman Auxilia I. Haynes, *Blood of the Provinces. The Roman Auxilia and the making of Provincial Society from Augustus to the Severans* (Oxford 2013).
- Holder, Auxilia P. A. Holder, *Studies in the Auxilia of the Roman Army from Augustus to Trajan* (Oxford 1980).
- Holder, Exercitus P. A. Holder, *Exercitus pius fidelis. The Army of Germania Inferior in AD 89. Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr.* 128, 1999, 237–250.
- IDR Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae (Bucarest 1975 ff.).
- IDRE C. C. Petolescu, *Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae. Inscriptiones extra fines Daciae repertae* (Bucarest 1996 ff.).
- IK Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien.
- ILD C. C. Petolescu, *Inscriptii latine din Dacia (ILD). Inscriptiones latinae Daciae* (Bucarest 2005).
- Le Bohec/Wolff, légions Y. Le Bohec / C. Wolff (eds.), *Les légions de Rome sous le Haut-Empire I* (Lyon 2000).
- Lörincz, B. Lörincz, *Die römischen Hilfstruppen in Pannonien während der Prinzipatszeit, Teil I: Die Inschriften* (Vienna 2001).
- Hilfstruppen Pannonien I
- PG Y. Burnand, *Primores Galliarum. Sénateurs et chevaliers romains originaires de Gaule de la fin de la République au IIIe siècle. II Prosopographie* (Brussels 2006).
- PME H. Devijver, *Prosopographia militiarum equestrium quae fuerunt ab Augusto ad Gallienum*, 6 vols. (Louvain 1976–2001).
- Popovici/Varga, Ad Vatabos P. Popovici / R. Varga, *Ad Vatabos. Monografie arheologică a localității Războieni-Cetate* (Cluj-Napoca 2010).
- RMD M. M. Roxan, *Roman Military Diplomas* (London 1978 ff.).
- Roselaar, S. Roselaar, *State-Organised Mobility in the Roman Empire: Legionaries and Auxiliaries*. In: L. de Ligt / L. E. Tacoma (eds.), *Migration and Mobility in the Early Roman Empire* (Leiden 2016) 138–157.
- State-Organised Mobility
- RMM B. Pferdehirt, *Römische Militärdiplome und Entlassungsurkunden in der Sammlung des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums* (Mayence 2004).
- Speidel, Guards M. P. Speidel, *Guards of the Roman Armies. An Essay on the singulares of the Provinces* (Bonn 1978).
- Speidel, Kaiserreiter M. P. Speidel, *Die Denkmäler der Kaiserreiter. Equites singulares Augusti* (Cologne 1994).
- Strobel, Bataverekohorten K. Strobel, *Anmerkungen zur Geschichte der Bataverekohorten in der hohen Kaiserzeit. Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr.* 70, 1987, 271–292.
- TitAq P. Kovács / A. Szabó, *Tituli Aquincenses* (Budapest 2009 ff.).



Willems/Enckevort,  
Nijmegen

W. J. H. Willems / H. van Enckevort,  
Vlpiā Noviomagvs. Roman Nijmegen. The Batavian  
Capital at the Imperial Frontier (Portsmouth, R. I. 2009).

*Summary.* Batavi served in the Roman army in various ways. Their units were initially, at the beginning of the Principate, irregular and were incorporated into the army as regular auxiliary troops around the middle of the first century. They played a central role in the Batavian uprising. Batavi have also been certified as rowers of the Rhine fleet and as members of the mounted imperial guard; the latter was called *Germani corporis custodes* by the Julio-Claudian emperors and *Equites singulares Augusti* since Trajan. As a result of their progressive integration, Batavi also were given access to service in the legions and praetorian cohorts. Many sources mention the *Ala Batavorum* first in Roman Germania and later in Pannonia and Dacia. Batavian horsemen served in other *alae* as well.

*Resümee.* Batavi leisteten in der römischen Armee auf verschiedene Art Dienst. Ihre Einheiten waren zu Beginn des Prinzipats zunächst irregulär und wurden um die Mitte des ersten Jahrhunderts als reguläre Hilfstruppen in das Heer eingegliedert. Eine zentrale Rolle spielten diese beim Bataveraufstand. Batavi sind daneben als Ruderer der Rheinflotte und als Mitglieder der berittenen kaiserlichen Garde nachgewiesen; letztere wurde unter den julisch-claudischen Kaisern *Germani corporis custodes* und seit der Zeit Trajans *Equites singulares Augusti* genannt. Als Folge ihrer fortschreitenden Integration wurde Batavi auch der Dienst in den Legionen und den Prätorianerkohorten zugänglich. Viele Quellen nennen die *Ala Batavorum* zunächst im römischen Germanien und später in Pannonien und Dakien. Auch in anderen *Alen* leisteten batavische Reiter Dienst.

*Samenvatting.* Batavi dienden in het Romeinse leger op verschillende manieren. Hun eenheden waren aanvankelijk, in het begin van het Principaat, ongeregeld. Zij werden als reguliere hulptroepen rond het midden van de eerste eeuw in het leger geïncorporeerd. Bij de Bataafse opstand speelden zij een belangrijke rol. Batavi zijn ook getesteed als roeiers op de Rijnvloot en als leden van de bereden keizerlijke lijfwacht. In laatstgenoemde hoedanigheid heetten zij *Germani corporis custodes* in de tijd van de Julisch-Claudische keizers, *Equites singulares Augusti* sinds Trajanus. Als gevolg van hun voortschrijdende integratie kregen Batavi ook toegang tot de legioenen en de praetoriaanse cohorten. In vele bronnen vinden we de *Ala Batavorum* vermeld, eerst in het tot het Romeinse rijk behorende deel van Germanië, later ook in Pannonië en Dacië. Behalve in de *Ala Batavorum* treffen we Bataafse ruiters ook aan in andere *alae*.



# Inhalt

## Aufsätze

- 3     *Jennifer Morscheiser*  
Michael Gechter
- 13    *Friederike Sinn*  
Herakles und Athleten  
Eklektische Reliefs im Strengen Stil
- 53    *Ton Derks and Hans Teitler*  
Batavi in the Roman Army of the Principate  
An Inventory of the Sources
- 81    *Claudia Klages, Rabel Otte und Joachim Hunke*  
Fundmünzen aus Alpen-Drüpt
- 149   *Günther E. Thüry*  
Ein kaiserzeitlicher Aulos mit griechischer Weihinschrift
- 153   *Ulrich Himmelmann und Richard Petrovsky*  
Der römische Klappstuhl aus Rülzheim
- 193   *Michael Schmauder*  
Der Raum zwischen Rhein, Donau und Oder vom fünften bis zum  
Ende des siebten Jahrhunderts  
Eine archäologische Skizze
- 249   *Carl Pause und Tanja Pothhoff*  
Der Neusser Bischofshof  
Historische Quellen und archäologische Befunde

- 295 *Alexander Reis*  
Die Ornamentik der Dieburger Herrnfestglocke  
Antike Münz- und Gemmenporträts und deren Nachahmungen  
auf Glocken der Renaissancezeit

## Berichte

- 317 *LVR - Landesmuseum Bonn*  
Bericht der Direktorin für das Jahr 2018
- 331 *LVR - Amt für Bodendenkmalpflege im Rheinland*  
Bericht der Amtsleitung für das Jahr 2018
- 337 *Verein von Altertumsfreunden im Rheinlande*  
Bericht über die Tätigkeit im Jahre 2018

## Besprechungen

### Vorgeschichte

- 345 Thomas X. Schuhmacher, Elfenbeinstudien. Faszikel III. Elefanten und Elfenbein auf der Iberischen Halbinsel und in Nordwestafrika. Interdisziplinäre Studien zu Austauschsystemen im 3. und der ersten Hälfte des 2. Jts. v. Chr. (*Dirk Brandherm*)
- 348 Penelope Anne Mountjoy, Decorated Pottery in Cyprus and Philistia in the 12th Century BC. Cypriot IIIC and Philistine IIIC (*Christian Vonhoff*)
- 354 Udo Recker und Vera Rupp (Hrsg.), Die ›Fürstengräber‹ vom Glauberg. Bergung – Restaurierung – Textilforschung (*Walter Reinhard*)
- 357 Kirsten Hellström, Fibeln und Fibeltracht der Sarmatischen Zeit im Nordschwarzmeergebiet (2. Jh. v. Chr. – 3. Jh. n. Chr.) (*Valentina Mordvintseva*)

### Klassische Archäologie

- 363 Ralf von den Hoff, Einführung in die Klassische Archäologie (*Achim Lichtenberger*)
- 365 Nikolaus Dietrich und Michael Squire (Hrsg.), Ornament and Figure in Graeco-Roman Art. Rethinking Visual Ontologies in Classical Antiquity (*Jörn Lang*)
- 369 Klaus-Frithjof Leonhardt, Das Pelopion von Olympia. Zum Heroenkult in Griechenland (*Gunnel Ekroth*)

- 372 Eleni Manakidou, Frauentänze für Dionysos in der spätarchaischen Vasenmalerei Athens (*Susanne Moraw*)
- 374 Myriam Ruth Ruprecht, Konzepte freundschaftlicher Beziehungen in der griechischen Bildkunst (*Bernadette Descharnes*)
- 377 Raimon Graells i Fabregat, Fausto Longo und Gabriel Zuchtriegel (Hrsg.), Le armi di Athena. Il santuario settentrionale di Paestum (*Isabelle Warin und Arnd Hennemeyer*)
- 381 Heinz-Jürgen Beste und Dieter Mertens, Die Mauern von Syrakus. Das Kastell Euryalos und die Befestigung der Epipolai (*Alexander Sokolicek*)
- 384 Bärbel Ruhl, Imbros. Archäologie einer nordägäischen Insel (*Martin Steskal*)
- 386 Kordelia Knoll und Christiane Vorster (Hrsg.), Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden. Skulpturensammlung. Katalog der antiken Bildwerke I: Skulpturen von der ägäischen Frühzeit bis zum Ende des Hellenismus (*Adolf H. Borbein*)
- 388 Heide Lauter-Bufe, Megalopolis. Theater und Thersilion (*Werner Oenbrink*)
- 389 Sarah A. James, Corinth. Results of Excavations conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, volume VII 7. Hellenistic Pottery. The Fine Wares (*Guy Ackermann*)

## Rom und die Provinzen

- 393 Klaus S. Freyberger und Christine Ertel, Die Basilica Aemilia auf dem Forum Romanum in Rom. Bauphasen, Rekonstruktion, Funktion und Bedeutung (*Tommaso Ismaelli*)
- 403 Boris Alexander Nikolaus Burandt, Die Ausrüstung der römischen Armee auf der Siegessäule des Marcus Aurelius in Rom. Ein Vergleich zwischen der skulpturalen Darstellung und den archäologischen Bodenfunden (*Jürgen Oldenstein*)
- 404 Friederike Fless, Stephanie Langer, Paolo Liverani und Michael Pfanner, Vatikanische Museen. Museo Gregoriano Profano ex Lateranense. Katalog der Skulpturen IV. Historische Reliefs (*Klaus Fittschen*)
- 409 Paul Veyne, Das Geheimnis der Fresken. Die Mysterienvilla in Pompeji (*Lucia Faedo*)
- 413 Guntram Koch (Hrsg.), Akten des Symposiums Römische Sarkophage. Marburg, 2–8 Juli 2006 (*Martin Galinier*)
- 415 Ortwin Dally, Johanna Fabricius und Henner von Hesberg (Hrsg.), Bilder und Räume. Antike Sarkophage im Kontext (*Stylios E. Katakis*)

- 418 Isabel López García, Osuna (Provincia de Sevilla. Hispania Ulterior Baetica). *Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani España I 7* (*Carmen Marcks-Jacobs*)
- 421 Matthew Symonds, Protecting the Roman Empire. Fortlets, Frontiers and the Quest for Post-Conquest Security (*Jürgen Obmann*)
- 423 José Remesal Rodríguez (Hrsg.), Colonia Ulpia Traiana (Xanten) y el Mediterráneo. El Comercio de Alimentos (*Joost van den Berg*)
- 427 Stefan F. Pfahl, Namenstempel auf römischen Reibschüsseln (mortaria) aus Deutschland (*Eszter Harsányi*)
- 430 Julia Budei, Gallorömische Heiligtümer. Neue Studien zur Lage und den räumlichen Bezügen (*Claudia Nickel*)
- 432 Ricarda Giljohann, Die römische Besiedlung im Umland der antiken Tuffbergwerke am Laacher See-Vulkan (*Stephan Seiler*)
- 434 Günter Ulbert, Der Auerberg IV. Die Kleinfunde mit Ausnahme der Gefäßkeramik sowie die Grabungen von 2001 und 2008 (*Salvatore Ortisi*)
- 437 Karlheinz Dietz und Thomas Fischer, Regensburg zur Römerzeit. Von Roms nördlichster Garnison an der Donau zur ersten bairischen Hauptstadt (*Martin Luik*)
- 440 Falko Daim und Nives Doneus (Hrsg.), Ein römisches Landgut im heutigen Zillingtal (Burgenland) und sein Umfeld (*Günther Moosbauer*)
- 442 Tommaso Ismaelli und Giuseppe Scardozzi (Hrsg.), Ancient Quarries and Building Sites in Asia Minor. Research on Hierapolis in Phrygia and other cities in South-Western Anatolia: archaeology, archaeometry, conservation (*Ben Russell*)
- 446 Julie Van Voorhis, The Sculptor's Workshop. Aphrodisias X (*David Ojeda*)
- 447 Esen Ogus, Columnar Sarcophagi from Aphrodisias (*Guntram Koch*)
- 452 Carola Kintrup, Attische Sarkophage aus Ephesos (*Theodosia Stefanidou-Tiveriou*)
- 455 Volker Michael Strocka, Dokimenische Säulensarkophage. Datierung und Deutung (*Doris Bielefeld*)
- 459 Cristina-Georgeta Alexandrescu, Christian Gugl und Barbara Kainrath (Hrsg.), Troesmis I. Die Forschungen von 2010–2014 (*Florian Matei-Popescu*)

## Alte Geschichte

- 463 Jacek Rzepka, Greek Federal Terminology (*Angela Ganter*)
- 465 Andrea Balbo, Pierangelo Buongiorno und Ermanno Malaspina (Hrsg.), Rappresentazione e uso dei senatus consulta nelle fonti letterarie della repubblica e del primo principato (*Federico Santangelo*)
- 468 Thomas G. Schattner, Dieter Vieweger und David Wigg-Wolf (Hrsg.), Kontinuität und Diskontinuität, Prozesse der Romanisierung. Fallstudien zwischen Iberischer Halbinsel und Vorderem Orient. Ergebnisse der gemeinsamen Treffen der Arbeitsgruppen ›Kontinuität und Diskontinuität: Lokale Traditionen und römische Herrschaft im Wandel‹ und ›Geld eint, Geld trennt‹ (2013–2017) (*Alexander Rubel*)
- 470 Florian Sittig, Psychopathen in Purpur. Julisch-claudischer Caesarenwahnsinn und die Konstruktion historischer Realität (*Martijn Icks*)
- 474 Christoph Michels, Antoninus Pius und die Rollenbilder des römischen Princeps. Herrscherliches Handeln und seine Repräsentation in der Hohen Kaiserzeit (*Jürgen Lorenz*)
- 475 Katharina Wojciech und Peter Eich (Hrsg.), Die Verwaltung der Stadt Rom in der Hohen Kaiserzeit. Formen der Kommunikation, Interaktion und Vernetzung (*Marietta Horster*)
- 477 Marco Vitale, Das Imperium in Wort und Bild. Römische Darstellungsformen beherrschter Gebiete in Inschriftenmonumenten, Münzprägungen und Literatur (*Kordula Schnegg*)
- 479 Nicole Moine und Thomas Morin, Recueil des inscriptions lapidaires de Reims (*Peter Herz*)
- 481 Paul Scheding, Urbaner Ballungsraum im römischen Nordafrika. Zum Einfluss von mikroregionalen Wirtschafts- und Sozialstrukturen auf den Städtebau in der Africa Proconsularis (*Yann Le Bohec*)
- 482 Monique Dondin-Payre und Nicolas Tran (Hrsg.), Esclaves et maîtres dans le monde Romain. Expressions épigraphiques de leurs relations (*Elisabeth Herrmann-Otto*)
- 486 Michael E. Smith, The Importance of a Comparative Perspective in the Study of Ancient Economies (*Sven Günther*)



## Spätantike, frühes Mittelalter und Mittelalter

- 489 Felix K. Maier, Palastrevolution. Der Weg zum hauptstädtischen Kaisertum im Römischen Reich des vierten Jahrhunderts (*Reinhold Scholl*)
- 491 Axel Gering, Ostias vergessene Spätantike. Eine urbanistische Deutung zur Bewältigung von Verfall (*Marcel Danner*)
- 495 Markus Asal, Basilia. Das spätantike Basel. Untersuchungen zur spätrömischen und frühmittelalterlichen Siedlungsgeschichte. Die Grabung Martinsgasse 6+8 [2004/1] und weitere Grabungen im Nordteil des Münsterhügels (*Jürgen Oldenstein*)
- 496 Paul Ley, Die Inschriften der Stadt Xanten (*Thomas Wozniak*)

## Nachleben und Forschungsgeschichte

- 499 Avi Lifschitz und Michael Squire (Hrsg.), Rethinking Lessing's Laokoon. Antiquity, Enlightenment, and the ›Limits‹ of Painting and Poetry (*Anne-Rose Meyer*)
- 502 Max Kunze und Konstantin Lappo-Danilevskij (Hrsg.), Antike und Klassizismus. Winckelmanns Erbe in Russland (*Balbina Bäbler*)
- 506 Adolf H. Borbein, Max Kunze und Axel Rügler (Hrsg.), Johann Joachim Winckelmann. Dresdner Schriften. Text und Kommentar. Schriften und Nachlaß IX 1. – Max Kunze (Bearb.), Johann Joachim Winckelmann. Das Sankt Petersburger Manuskript der ›Gedancken über die Nachahmung der Griechischen Werke in der Mahlerey und Bildhauer-Kunst‹. Faksimiles, Texte und Dokumente (*Christoph Schmälzle*)

## Anhang

- 513 Abkürzungen

# Anhang

## Abkürzungen

Kürzel werden nach den Regeln der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission benutzt, siehe das Impressum dieses Bandes. Daher finden sich Abkürzungen nur in Fußnoten, Katalogen, Listen, Tabellen oder Ähnlichem, nicht im Fließtext. In den Bonner Jahrbüchern können auch die folgenden Siglen verwendet werden.

ABR	LVR - Amt für Bodendenkmalpflege im Rheinland
AE	Bronze (bei Münzen)
APX	LVR - Archäologischer Park Xanten
AR	Silber (bei Münzen)
AV	Gold (bei Münzen)
Ausst. (Exhibit., Exposition, Mostra)	Ausstellungskatalog. Die Stadt als Ausstellungsort wird immer genannt, sofern sie nicht aus dem Buchtitel hervorgeht, sie wird nicht als Erscheinungsort des Buches wiederholt, wenn beides identisch ist. Das Austragungsjahr wird nicht angeführt, wenn es mit dem Erscheinungsjahr übereinstimmt. Der genaue Veranstaltungsort kann ausnahmsweise nützlich sein, taggenaue Daten sollten meist entfallen.
Au	Aureus (Münze)
Av	Avers, Münzvorderseite
Beschr.	Beschreibung
Bdm.	Durchmesser eines Gefäßbodens oder Standrings
BD	Bodendenkmal
BS	Bodenscherbe
CUT	Colonia Ulpia Traiana
D	Denar (Münze)
Dat.	Datierung
Dp	Dupondius (Münze)
Drag.	Bestimmung von Terra sigillata nach H. Dragendorff, Bonner Jahrb. 96/97, 1895/96, 18–155.
erh.	erhalten, anders: »min.«
Festschr.	Festschrift. Sofern im Titel nicht der Name des Geehrten steht, wird er einschließlich ausgeschriebenem Vornamen ergänzend angeführt. Die Nennung von Herausgebern kann in der Regel entfallen.
Fl.	Fläche
FR	Frimmersdorf, Braunkohlentagebaugebiet, Aktivitätsnummer
Frg., Frg.te	Fragment(e)
HA	Hambach, Braunkohlentagebaugebiet, Aktivitätsnummer
Kongr. (Congr.)	Kongress, Konferenz, Kolloquium, Tagung etc. Es gelten die Regeln wie für »Ausst.«
li.	links

LMB	LVR - Landesmuseum Bonn
LTUR	Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae
LVR	Landschaftsverband Rheinland
max.	maximal (z. B. ›Dm. max.‹)
min.	mindestens (z. B. ›Dm. min.‹), anders: »erh.«
NI	Aktivitätsnummer der Außenstelle Niederrhein des ABR (Xanten)
n. li.	nach links
n. re.	nach rechts
ns	nordsüdlich
Ns.	Nebenseite
NW	Aktivitätsnummer der Außenstelle Nideggen-Wollersheim des ABR, bei Angabe von Himmelsrichtungen ›Nordwesten‹
Ofl.	Oberfläche
Ok.	Oberkante
OV	Aktivitätsnummer der Außenstelle Overath des ABR
Os.	Oberseite
PLRE	The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire (Cambridge 1971–1992)
PR	Prospektionsmaßnahme
PS	Profilscherbe
Q	Quinar (Münze)
Rdm.	Durchmesser eines Gefäßrandes
re.	rechts
RGM	Römisch-Germanisches Museum Köln
RMX	LVR - Römermuseum Xanten
RRC	M. H. Crawford, Roman Republican Coinage (Cambridge 1975)
RS	Randscherbe
Rs.	Rückseite
Rv	Revers, Münzrückseite
S	Sesterz (Münze)
St	Stater (Münze)
St.	›Stärke‹ bei Maßangaben bzw. ›Stelle‹ als Bezeichnung für Befund oder Arbeitsbereich nach dem Rheinischen Stellkartensystem
TN	Terra nigra
TR	Terra rubra
TS	Terra sigillata
ü. NN	Höhe über Normalnull
Uk.	Unterkante
unbek.	unbekannt
unbest.	unbestimmt
Us.	Unterseite
Vs.	Vorderseite
wö	westöstlich
WS	Wandscherbe
WW	Weisweiler, Braunkohlentagebauegebiet, Aktivitätsnummer